

The Incomprehension of the Disciples and Peter's Confession (Mark 6,14-8,30)

Several studies have dealt with the role which the disciples play in the Gospel of Mark. It is now commonly accepted that the Evangelist underscores the incomprehension of the disciples when they are confronted with the questions of Jesus' identity and destiny, and the nature of discipleship. Nevertheless, Marcan scholars continue to disagree about the role which this motif of incomprehension or blindness plays in the narrative. Some interpret the motif as part of the Evangelist's polemic against a faulty Christology espoused by the historical disciples and their representatives⁽¹⁾. Others view it as a literary device employed by Mark for the pastoral purpose of showing his readers the difficulties involved in discipleship⁽²⁾. This study is limited to a section of Mark's Gospel in which the theme of incomprehension plays a major role, a section which begins with Herod's opinion about Jesus (6,14-16) and concludes with Peter's confession that Jesus is the Messiah (8,27-30). In this section Jesus feeds two great crowds (6,34-44; 8,1-10), walks on the sea and manifests himself to the disciples in a fashion which approaches an epiphany (6,45-52), and performs several healings (6,53-56; 7,24-37; 8,22-26). Nonetheless, at several critical moments his disciples do not comprehend. After the feeding of the five thousand, when Jesus

(¹) W. H. KELBER, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place And A New Time* (Philadelphia 1974) and *The Oral And The Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia 1983); J. B. TYSON, "The Blindness of the Disciples in Mark", *JBL* 80 (1961) 261-268; T. J. WEEDEN, *Mark: Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia 1971).

(²) E. BEST, *Following Jesus: Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark* (JSNTSS 4; Sheffield 1981) and *Mark the Gospel as Story* (Edinburgh 1983) 44-50, 83-91; C. FOCANT, "L'Incompréhension des disciples dans le deuxième Évangile", *RB* 82 (1975) 161-185; R. C. TANNEHILL, "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role", *JR* 57 (1977) 386-405.

walks upon the water, the Evangelist remarks, "And they were utterly astounded, for they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened" (6,51b-52). At the occasion of the feeding of the four thousand, the disciples ask, "How can one feed these men with bread here in the desert?" (8,4), as if the first feeding had not taken place. When Jesus tells the crowd a parable about what truly makes a person unclean, the disciples do not understand (7,18), even though Jesus has given them the "secret of the kingdom of God" (4,11). Finally, the disciples misunderstand Jesus' warning about the leaven of the Pharisees and Herod, leading Jesus to relate their incomprehension to a failure to grasp the true significance of the feeding miracles (8,14-21).

Despite these several failures, at Caesarea Philippi Peter confesses that Jesus is the Messiah (8,29), a confession which stands in contrast to what others are saying about Jesus (8,28). These rumors and opinions clearly recall the beginning of this section (6,14-16) and form an inclusion with it. But how does Peter recognize that Jesus is the Messiah when he and the other disciples have consistently misunderstood him? What is the nature of the disciples' incomprehension, and why has Mark introduced this motif?

I. The Incomprehension of the Disciples

Within the section which we have defined, there are five texts which might be viewed as examples of the motif of incomprehension: 6,37; 6,52; 7,18; 8,4; 8,14-21. We will examine each one in turn.

Mark 6,37

Jesus has taken his disciples, recently returned from their missionary journey (6,12-13.30), into the wilderness to rest. But a crowd pursues them and so, like a shepherd, he teaches the vast crowd which is compared to sheep without a shepherd. When evening approaches, the disciples ask Jesus to dismiss the crowd and he responds, "You give them something to eat" (6,37a). They answer, "Shall we go and buy two hundred denarii worth of bread, and give it to them to eat?" (6,37b)

Several commentators view the reaction of the disciples as part of Mark's misunderstanding motif⁽³⁾. Certainly, when the text is compared to the parallels in Matt 14,17 ("We have only five loaves here and two fish"), and Luke 9,13 ("We have no more than five loaves and two fish — unless we are to go and buy food for all these people"), it appears more disrespectful. But at this point in the narrative, it would be premature to speak of a fundamental misunderstanding on the part of the disciples. Given the situation, their response is understandable, even if it is somewhat curt. Instead, the primary purpose of the disciples' response is to prepare for the extraordinary and surprising miracle which follows⁽⁴⁾. Examples of this technique are found in two stories to which this narrative is often compared. In 2 Kings 4,43, the servant of Elisha asks a similar question when the prophet commands him to give the twenty barley loaves to the hundred men. "How am I to set this before a hundred men?" And in Num 11,21-23, Moses makes a longer and more vehement protest when the Lord promises to give the Israelites meat to eat in the wilderness. "The people among whom I am number six hundred thousand on foot; and thou hast said, 'I will give them meat, that they may eat a whole month!' Shall flocks and herds be slaughtered for them to suffice them? Or shall all the

(3) R. M. FOWLER, *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark* (SBLDS 54; Chico, CA 1981) 118 writes, "The disciples' possession of bread and money in 6,37-38, after having been expressly ordered not to carry such, is yet another indication of the failure of their mission. Whatever they may have in common with Jesus and his mission, they are ultimately callous to his wishes and blind to the significance of his teaching and mighty deeds". Other commentators are not so harsh, but they do view the disciples' question as an example of the incomprehension motif. See, J. GNILKA, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (EKK 2/1; Zürich 1978-79) I, 260; D. E. NINEHAM, *The Gospel of St. Mark* (Pelican Gospel Commentaries; Baltimore 1963) 182-183; E. SCHWEIZER, *The Good News according to Mark* (Richmond 1970) 138; V. TAYLOR, *The Gospel according to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indexes* (New York 1966) 323.

(4) FOCANT, "L'Incompréhension des disciples", 165 writes, "Mais leur comportement n'a rien de répréhensible. Leur dialogue avec Jésus sert plutôt à montrer le caractère extraordinaire et surprenant du miracle". R. PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2/1; Freiburg im Breisgau 1976-77) I, 351 also notes that while their skeptical question is part of the incomprehension motif it also prepares for the miracle which follows.

fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?" In both instances, the protest only enhances the miracles which will follow. In Mark 6,37 a similar motif is at work; the disciples' question puts them in a negative light, but it also prepares for the miracle which follows by showing how completely unexpected it is.

Mark 6,52

After feeding the five thousand, Jesus sends his disciples, by boat, to Bethsaida while he dismisses the crowd. When a storm arises, Jesus comes to the disciples, walking on the water⁽⁵⁾. The disciples see him and mistake him for a ghost and terrified they cry out. Jesus calms their fears, and when the wind ceases they are utterly astounded, and the Evangelist explains "for they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened" (*ou gar synēkan epi tois artois all'ēn autōn hē kardia pepōrōmenē*), 6,52⁽⁶⁾.

In this text, we find the first explicit reference in Mark's Gospel to the disciples' incomprehension ("they did not understand about the loaves")⁽⁷⁾. The disciples' incomprehension comes as a surprise to the reader, for there was no indication in the feeding of the five thousand that they did not comprehend the significance of the miracle Jesus performed. But now the Evangelist informs the reader that there was something essential about the miracle of the loaves (*epi tois artois*) which the disciples should have grasped

⁽⁵⁾ For a detailed study of this pericope and its role in the Gospel, see J. P. HEIL, *Jesus Walking on the Sea: Meaning and Gospel Functions of Matt. 14,22-33, Mark 6,45-52 and John 6,15b-21* (AnBib 87; Rome 1981) esp. 67-75, 118-145. Heil shows that the story is more than a sea rescue, it is an epiphany. For Mark 6,52, see Q. QUESNELL, *The Mind of Mark: Interpretation and Method through the Exegesis of Mark 6,52* (AnBib 38; Rome 1969). Quesnell argues that the disciples did not comprehend the Eucharistic significance of the feedings. I propose that they did not recognize Jesus as the Shepherd Messiah.

⁽⁶⁾ Matthew's account (14,22-27) does not mention the disciples' hardness of heart. Luke does not relate the story, but John does (6,16-21). Like Matthew, John does not mention the disciples' hardness of heart.

⁽⁷⁾ This is the first time that Mark employs the verb *syniemi* ("to understand") to describe the reaction of the disciples.

but did not⁽⁸⁾. And because they did not grasp the significance of the loaves, they did not recognize Jesus when he manifested himself to them walking on the water.

But what is the nature of this misunderstanding? Does it represent a moral failure on the part of the disciples? Are they completely responsible for this misunderstanding? Is there something they could have done to prevent it? The Evangelist's comment in 6,52 provides an enigmatic answer. It suggests that the root cause of the disciples' incomprehension is hardness of heart (*kardia pepōrōmenē*). The disciples did not understand the significance of the loaves because their hearts were hardened. And because they did not understand the significance of the loaves, they did not recognize Jesus when he manifested himself to them on the sea.

Within Mark's Gospel, there are two other references to hardness of heart. First, when Jesus heals a man with a withered hand, the Evangelist notes, "And he looked around at them with anger (*orgēs*), grieved (*sylypoumenos*) at their hardness of heart (*tē pōrōsei tēs kardias autōn*) [3,5]. Jesus' emotions and the consequent plot of the Pharisees and the Herodians to destroy him (3,6) suggest that the religious leaders bear some responsibility for their hardness of heart. Second, in 8,17, when the disciples misunderstand Jesus' warning about the leaven of the Pharisees and Herodians, he asks, "Are your hearts hardened?" (*pepōrōmenēn echete tēn kardian hymōn*). However here, and in 6,52, Mark employs the passive form of the verb rather than the noun as in 3,5, suggesting that the hardening of the disciples' hearts should not simply be equated with the hardness of heart of the Pharisees and Herodians who have plotted to destroy Jesus (3,6).

Outside of Mark's Gospel there are five references to hardness of heart in the NT (John 12,40; Rom 11,7; 11,25; 2 Cor 3,14; Eph 4,18). In all of these texts, except Eph 4,18, the reference is to a hardening which comes upon Israel, preventing it from recognizing the Messiah. Thus John 12,40 says "He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart (*epōrōsen autōn tēn kardian*), lest they should see with their eyes and perceive with their heart, and turn for me to

⁽⁸⁾ For an overview of the interpretations given to this text, see M. BOUCHER, *The Mysterious Parable: A Literary Study* (CBQMS 6; Washington 1977) 69-73. Boucher argues that the disciples "ought to have perceived in the feeding the repetition of the miracle of the manna" (74).

heal them", making Jewish unbelief the fulfillment of Isa 6,10, a text in which God is the agent of the hardening. In Rom 11,7 Paul writes "The elect obtained it [righteousness] but the rest were hardened (*epōrōthēsan*)", and in the next verse he notes that this was the fulfillment of the scripture (Deut 29,3; Isa 29,10)⁽⁹⁾. In Rom 11,25 he warns the Gentiles that "a hardening (*pōrōsis*) has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in". In 2 Cor 3,14 Paul writes that the minds of the non-believing Jews are hardened (*epōrōthē ta noēmata autōn*) "for to this day, when they read the old covenant, that same veil remains unlifted because only through Christ is it taken away". Finally, in Eph 4,18, Paul (or someone writing in his name) exhorts Christians not to live like the Gentiles who are darkened in their understanding (*eskotōmenoi tē dianoia*), for they are "alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them, due to their hardness of heart (*dia tēn pōrōsin tēs kardias*); they have become callous and have given themselves up to licentiousness, greedy to practice every kind of uncleanness" (Eph 4,19). As the following verses show (4,22-24), this hardness of heart is not simply a moral failure over which the Gentiles have complete control. It is a manifestation of the old nature which the Gentiles have not shed and which Christians have cast off, thanks to the Christ event.

To summarize, hardness of heart is not merely the result of moral failure, although it is often manifested through moral failure. People's hearts are hardened so that they cannot understand. Hardness of heart paradoxically points to God's revelation which cannot be grasped apart from divine assistance. When Mark says that the hearts of the disciples were hardened, he is not pointing to a moral failure on their part over which they have full control⁽¹⁰⁾. Nor is he suggesting that hardness of heart can be overcome by simply trying harder. Hardness of heart is a situation in which human beings find

(9) W. SANDAY - A. C. HEADLAM, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh 1902) 314, note, "The idea is in all these places the same, that a covering has grown over the heart, making men incapable of receiving any new teaching however good, and making them oblivious of the wrong they are doing".

(10) So FOCANT, "L'Incompréhension des disciples", 167; NINEHAM, *The Gospel of St. Mark*, 181; M.-J. LAGRANGE, *L'Évangile selon Saint Marc* (EB; Paris 1920) 167; TAYLOR, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 331.

themselves in face of God's revelatory action if God does not provide assistance to comprehend it. Thus, while hardness of heart offers an explanation for the inability of the disciples to understand the significance of the loaves and for their failure to recognize Jesus when he comes to them on the waters⁽¹¹⁾, it also highlights the mystery of Jesus' person and the disciples' need of further divine assistance⁽¹²⁾.

Mark 7,18

After the epiphany of Jesus on the waters, the boat lands at Gennesaret, not Bethsaida as planned⁽¹³⁾. Jesus heals several of the inhabitants, and then Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem engage him in a controversy over the laws of ritual purity. After the con-

(11) The remarks of B. CHILDS, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia 1974) 170-175, esp. 174 regarding the hardening of Pharaoh's heart are particularly apropos: "Rather, the motif sought to explain a tradition which contained a series of divine signs but which continued to fail in their purpose. Hardening was the vocabulary used by the biblical writers to describe the resistance which prevented the signs from achieving their assigned task. The motif has been consistently over-interpreted by supposing that it arose from a profoundly theological reflection and seeing it as a problem of free will and predestination".

(12) D. A. AUNE, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Library of Early Christianity 8; Philadelphia 1987) 55-56 notes "In the ancient world, *misunderstanding* was understood as a characteristic human response to divine revelation. . . . In the Gospels, the ignorance and fear of those in contact with Jesus are literary devices emphasizing the revelatory character of his words and the supernatural power evident in his deeds". And V. K. ROBINS, *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark* (Philadelphia 1984) 167-168 notes that "this gospel is influenced by Greco-Roman cultural dynamics between teacher and disciple where the disciple is never completely able to fathom the system of thought and action taught and manifested by the teacher".

(13) For a survey of solutions to the geographical problem raised by the landing at Gennesaret, see J.-M. VAN CANGH, "La multiplication des pains dans l'évangile de Marc: Essai d'exégèse globale", *L'Évangile selon Marc: Tradition et rédaction* (ed. M. SABBÉ) (BETL 34; Leuven 1974) 309-346, esp. 327-330. It appears that the first feeding takes place on the west side of the lake (Jewish territory) since Mark's last geographical notice (6,1-6) places Jesus in his homeland. The second feeding occurs on the east side of the lake (Gentile territory). For a detailed presentation of this, see E. S. MALBON, "The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee", *JBL* 103 (1984) 363-377.

trovery, Jesus calls the crowd and says, "Hear me, all of you, and understand (*synete*)" (7,14), and delivers a parable about what truly defiles a person. When the disciples enter the house, they ask about the parable, and he responds, "Then are you also without understanding (*outōs kai hymeis asynetoι este*)?" (7,18).

Once more the Evangelist underlines the disciples' lack of comprehension⁽¹⁴⁾. Having explained to them the meaning of several parables (4,34), Jesus expects that his disciples will be able to understand this parable. That the disciples fail to comprehend does not derive from a moral failure on their part but from the nature of the truth being revealed. Jesus himself seems to recognize the difficulty involved in grasping the parable when he says, "Hear me, all of you, and understand" (7,14)⁽¹⁵⁾. Parable speech is not immediately comprehensible, even to those to whom the secret of the kingdom has been given⁽¹⁶⁾. That the disciples do not grasp it points to the greatness of the mystery which is being revealed.

When the disciples do not understand, Jesus provides them with a private explanation (7,18-23), even as he did with the parable of the seed (4,13-20). The message of the kingdom cannot be grasped immediately, it must be continually explained, and those who do not understand must be willing to ask questions⁽¹⁷⁾.

Mark 8,4

After explaining the parable to his disciples, Jesus goes to the region of Tyre and Sidon where he heals the daughter of a Gentile woman (7,24-30), and to the Decapolis where he cures a deaf man with a speech impediment (7,31-37). Once more Jesus finds himself

⁽¹⁴⁾ So GNILKA, *Das Evangelium*, I, 285, and PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium*, I, 380.

⁽¹⁵⁾ So LAGRANGE, *Saint Marc*, 180.

⁽¹⁶⁾ J. MARCUS, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* (SBLDS 90; Atlanta 1986) 100 notes, "the disciples' mixture of comprehension and incomprehension emphasizes that the time of Jesus' earthly ministry is a penultimate time. . . . no human being can possess wholeness of sight until after Jesus has been crucified".

⁽¹⁷⁾ MARCUS, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 91 correctly notes that "part of faithful listening is asking questions appropriate to Jesus' teaching".

with a great multitude, the setting for the second feeding (8,1-10). But whereas the disciples brought the critical situation to Jesus' attention at the first feeding (6,35-36), now it is Jesus who brings the situation to their attention (8,2-3). This reversal of roles is clearly a narrative strategy on the part of the Evangelist to underline the disciples' continuing incomprehension. They respond as if the first feeding had not taken place: "How can one feed these men with bread here in the desert?" (8,4)⁽¹⁸⁾. There is, of course, no rational explanation for their memory lapse, nor is there meant to be. It can only be attributed to their hardness of heart which paradoxically points to the unfathomable mystery.

Mark 8,14-21

The several texts we have examined thus far come to a climax in this episode⁽¹⁹⁾. Having fed the four thousand, Jesus returns with his disciples by boat to Dalmanutha (8,10). There the Pharisees seek a sign (8,11-12), seemingly oblivious to the several miracles Jesus has performed. Jesus and the disciples depart by boat to the other side of the lake. In the boat, the disciples only have a single loaf of bread (*hena arton*)⁽²⁰⁾ with them (8,14). When Jesus warns them against the leaven (*zymēs*) of the Pharisees and Herod (8,15), they mistakenly suppose that he is referring to the fact that they only have a single loaf with them (8,16). There follows a conversation in which Jesus relates the incomprehension of the disciples to the two feeding miracles and to all of the misunderstandings we have examined thus far.

(18) For a helpful discussion on the ironic nature of the disciples' question see FOWLER, *Loaves and Fishes*, 91-96.

(19) For two recent studies on this important text, see N. A. BECK, "Reclaiming a Biblical Text: The Mark 8:14-21 Discussion about Bread in the Boat", *CBQ* 43 (1981) 49-56; and L. WM. COUNTRYMAN, "How Many Baskets Full? Mark 8:14-21 and the Value of Miracles in Mark", *CBQ* 47 (1985) 643-655.

(20) GNILKA, *Das Evangelium*, I, 312; PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium*, I, 414; and J. ERNST, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (RNT; Regensburg 1981) 226 believe that the one bread refers to Jesus. I take the text literally; the disciples only have a single loaf of bread.

In v. 17 Jesus asks "Do you not yet perceive (*oupō noeite*) or understand (*oude syniete*)? Are your hearts hardened (*pepōrōmenēn*)?" Once more, the hardening of the disciples' hearts is the fundamental problem (see 6,52). Because their hearts are hardened, they do not perceive or understand, just as they did not comprehend Jesus' parable about what truly defiles a person ("Then are you also without understanding [*asynetoī*]. Do you not see [*ou noeite*] that whatever goes into a man from outside cannot defile him?") (7,18).

In v. 18a, Jesus asks, "Having eyes do you not see, and having ears do you not hear?" His question recalls the description of the crowd in 4,12 ("so that they may indeed see but not perceive, and may indeed hear but not understand"), as well as his warnings in 7,14 ("Hear me, all of you, and understand") and 8,15 ("Take heed [*blepete*], beware of the leaven..."). In vv. 18b-20, he asks if his disciples remember the two feedings and makes specific references to them. In v. 19 Jesus employs the word for basket (*kophinos*) found in the feeding of the five thousand (6,43), and in v. 20 he uses the word for basket (*spyris*) found in the feeding of the four thousand (8,8). Verse 21 concludes with Jesus again asking whether or not the disciples understand (*oupō syniete*), thereby forming an inclusion with v. 17 (*oupō noeite, oude syniete*).

To summarize, in this discussion Jesus relates the several misunderstandings of the disciples to the two feeding miracles. The disciples misunderstand Jesus' remark about the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod because they do not understand the significance of the feeding miracles. If they had grasped the significance of the feeding miracles, they would have realized that Jesus could multiply their single loaf if necessary. But they have not understood, because their hearts are hardened. The fundamental problem remains hardness of heart which prevents the disciples from understanding the significance of the feeding miracles. And because they do not comprehend the meaning of the feeding miracles, they do not recognize Jesus at his epiphany on the water or understand his saying about the leaven. The disciples' incomprehension does not derive from a moral flaw but from a situation over which they do not have complete control: their hearts are hardened. It points to a mystery which is beyond their grasp. But what would they learn from the feeding miracles if they could perceive and understand?

II. The Feeding Miracles

In Mark's narrative, the reader is always in a superior position to the human characters of the story, except for Jesus. In the prologue, the Evangelist provides the reader with privileged information about Jesus' identity, information withheld from the human characters of the story, except Jesus⁽²¹⁾. Moreover, throughout the narrative, the Evangelist makes frequent side comments to the reader, comments of which the characters of the story are not aware⁽²²⁾. Thus in most instances the reader of the story already knows what the characters are on the way to discovering.

In the feeding of the five thousand, for example, the Evangelist begins with a narrative comment of which only the reader is aware: "As he went ashore he saw a great throng, and he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd; and he began to teach them many things" (6,34). At the outset of the narrative the Evangelist portrays Jesus as a shepherd⁽²³⁾ and the crowd as "sheep without a shepherd", an important allusion to several OT texts (Num 27,17; 1 Kgs 22,17; 2 Chr 18,16; Ezek 34,8; Zech 10,2).

In these texts, the people of Israel are compared to sheep without a shepherd because they do not have leaders, or because their leaders have not fulfilled their responsibilities. Thus Moses asks God to appoint a leader over the community of Israel "that the congregation of the Lord may not be as sheep which have no shep-

(21) On the importance of the prologue see, F. J. MATERA, "The Prologue as the Interpretative Key to Mark's Gospel", *JSNT* 34 (1988) 3-20.

(22) For example, Mark's many *gar* clauses (1,16.22; 3,10.21; 5,8.28.42; 6,14.17.18.20.31.48.50.52; 7,3; 9,31.34; 10,22; 11,13.18.32; 12,12; 14,2.40.56; 15,10; 16,4.8).

(23) PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium*, I, 350 says that "Jesus erscheint als der endzeitliche Hirt". L. CERFAUX, "La section des pains (*Mt* vi,31-viii,26; *Mt* xiv,13-xvi,12)", *Synoptische Studien* (FS. A. Wikenhauser; [Hrsg. J. SCHMID - A. VÖGTLE] Munich 1953) 64-77 writes, "Dans les miracles de la multiplication des pains, il se révèle à ses disciples comme le bon pasteur qui nourrit les foules. . . . Jésus se révèle comme le bienfaiteur messianique qui promet tous les biens temporels ou spirituels" (74). VAN CANGH, "La multiplication des pains", concludes "Pour Marc, Jésus occupe ainsi la place que Yahvé occupait dans l'A.T. Il est le Pasteur de son peuple; il le fait asseoir sur l'herbe verte et le nourrit surabondamment de son pain et de sa parole" (344).

herd" (Num 27,17). The prophet Micaiah sees "all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd", and the Lord explains "These have no master" (1 Kgs 22,17, also 2 Chron 18,16). In a similar vein, Zechariah complains that "the people wander like sheep; they are afflicted for want of a shepherd" (Zech 10,2). And Ezekiel prophesies against the shepherds of Israel because they have ruled harshly and brutally so that the people "were scattered, because there was no shepherd" (Ezek 34,5). For this reason, God promises to search for the sheep himself, looking after them (34,11), and to "set up over them one shepherd, my servant David, and he shall feed them" (34,23). By this side comment, therefore, the Evangelist presents Jesus as the eschatological ruler of God's people, God's Messiah. In effect, the Evangelist is telling the reader what the disciples are yet to discover: Jesus is the Messiah⁽²⁴⁾.

When the feeding of the four thousand occurs (chap 8), the reader should know how to interpret Jesus' action. Jesus is once more acting in the role of the compassionate Messiah, the Shepherd of Israel. When Jesus says to the disciples, "I have compassion (*splagchnizomai*) on the crowd" (8,2), the knowing reader will relate this text to 6,34 where the Evangelist says of Jesus, "and he had compassion (*esplagchnisthē*) on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd". The reader, aware of the comment of 6,34, is in a better position than the disciples and the crowd to recognize that Jesus' compassion is the compassion of the Shepherd Messiah.

To summarize, the feeding of the five thousand should have revealed to the disciples that Jesus is the Shepherd Messiah. If it had, the disciples might have recognized Jesus when he walked upon the waters and manifested himself to them. The feeding of the four thousand should have done the same. If it had, the disciples might not have misunderstood Jesus' warning about the leaven of the Pharisees. But because the hearts of the disciples are hardened, they cannot understand the significance of the feeding (6,52). When the second feeding occurs in chapter eight, the same situation prevails: the disciples cannot understand that Jesus is acting as the Shepherd

(24) The application of shepherd imagery to the Messiah is not foreign to pre-Christian Judaism. See J. JEREMIAS, "Poimen", *TDNT* (1968) VI, 488-489. Ps. Sol. 17 says of the Messiah, "Faithfully and righteously shepherding the Lord's flock, he will not let any of them stumble in their pasture" (17,40).

Messiah because their hearts are hardened (8,17). The fundamental problem is hardness of heart which not only prevents the disciples from comprehending, but also points to the mystery of Jesus' person.

III. The Recognition of Jesus' Messiahship

In light of the theme of incomprehension, Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi that Jesus is the Messiah 8,29 presents a narrative problem. How can Peter confess that Jesus is the Messiah when he and the other disciples have not been able to comprehend the significance of the feeding miracles? What allows the disciples to recognize what they have not been able to comprehend thus far? For several commentators, the questions I pose do not present a problem. Either they view Peter's confession as faulty⁽²⁵⁾, further evidence of his and the disciples' incomprehension, or they make it the beginning of the second part of the Gospel⁽²⁶⁾, thereby ignoring the narrative problem. But Jesus' question in 8,27 ("Who do men say that I am?") and the disciples' response in 8,28 ("John the Baptist; and others say, Elijah; and others one of the prophets"), clearly refer the reader to the Evangelist's comment in 6,14-16 in which Herod and others speculate about Jesus' identity. It would appear that the Evangelist envisions a narrative movement from the faulty speculation of Herod and others to Peter's recognition of Jesus' messiahship. Furthermore, Jesus' question in 8,29 ("But who do you say

(²⁵) J. D. KINGSBURY, *The Christology of Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia 1983) 25-46 calls this approach "corrective Christology". In recent years it has been associated with the late N. Perrin and several of his students. See, F. J. MATERA, *What Are They Saying About Mark?* (New York 1987) 18-37.

(²⁶) Most commentators make Peter's confession the beginning of a new section in their commentary. For example, H. ANDERSON, *The Gospel of Mark* (NCB; Grand Rapids 1976) 59; C. E. B. CRANFIELD, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (Cambridge Greek New Testament Commentaries; Cambridge 1959) 14; ERNST *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, I, 32; C. S. MANN, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; Garden City, NY 1986) 183; NINEHAM, *The Gospel of St. Mark*, 223; PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium*, I, 36; SCHWEIZER, *The Good News According to Mark*, 165; TAYLOR, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 109.

that I am") suggests that Peter's confession, when contrasted with this speculation, is correct, at least formally⁽²⁷⁾. In order to put this question into sharper focus, it is helpful to review the narrative logic leading to Peter's confession in Matthew and Luke⁽²⁸⁾.

Matthew's material presents the clearest parallel to Mark. At this point his gospel narrates the same events as does Mark, in the same order. The major differences are the introduction of the story in which Peter walks on the water (Matt 14,28-31) and the omission of two healing stories which are reported by Mark (Mark 7,31-37; 8,22-26), the second of which comes before Peter's confession.

In addition to these differences, the theme of the disciples' incomprehension is notably muted in Matthew⁽²⁹⁾. Matthew says nothing of the disciples' hardness of heart (Mark 6,52), rather the disciples worship Jesus, calling him the Son of God (Matt 14,33). And in the final boat scene, Matthew's version of the story (Matt 16,5-12, par. Mark 8,14-21) concludes with the disciples understanding that the leaven refers to the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt 16,12), whereas Mark's version ends with the question, "Do you not yet understand?" (Mark 8,21). Consequently, when the narrative comes to Peter's confession, the reader is not surprised to hear Peter confessing that Jesus is the Messiah. Nevertheless, Matthew does not simply make Peter's confession the result of human perception. Immediately after the confession, Jesus says, "Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jona! For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you but my Father who is in heaven" (Matt 16,17).

The Lucan account of this section (Luke 9,7-20) is notably briefer⁽³⁰⁾. It begins with a report about Herod's reaction to Jesus (Luke 9,7-9) which is a response of total perplexity: "John I beheaded, but

(27) I recognize that Peter has not arrived at the whole truth about Jesus. Shortly after his confession, Peter refuses to accept that as the Messiah, Jesus must suffer and die (8,32). But his confession is formally correct and reveals the truth about Jesus; he is the Messiah. See 1,1.

(28) I believe that Matthew and Luke are dependent upon Mark as their source in this section, but the analysis which follows is not dependent upon the correctness of the Two Source Hypothesis.

(29) Matthew does mention the disciples' incomprehension in 15,15 (par. Mark 7,18) and 15,44 (par. Mark 8,4).

(30) This is due to the omission of Mark 6,45-8,26, sometimes called Luke's Great Omission.

who is this about whom I hear such things?" Next, there follows the feeding of the five thousand (Luke 9,10-17) which takes place at Bethsaida. Finally, Peter's confession occurs (Luke 9,18-20).

In Luke's account of this material, there are none of the examples of incomprehension we noted in Mark, except for the disciples' reaction when Jesus tells them to feed the crowd (Luke 9,13). Nor is there any comment by Jesus about the divine origin of Peter's confession. Instead, it appears that Peter and the disciples have arrived at an initial recognition of Jesus' identity based on Jesus' words and deeds, the latest of which is the feeding of the five thousand.

To summarize, both Matthew and Luke provide some motivation for Peter's confession and, if they are employing Mark as a source, eliminate the major instances of the disciples' incomprehension. For Matthew the confession is a combination of growing insight and divine assistance. For Luke it results from witnessing Jesus' words and deeds. But what of Mark?

On first reading, it would appear that there is no narrative logic leading from the events which precede Peter's confession to his recognition that Jesus is the Messiah⁽³¹⁾. Indeed, the disciples' incomprehension seems to militate against such a confession. Nevertheless, I propose that the confession at Caesarea Philippi is related to what precedes it. The bridge between the disciples' incomprehension and Peter's confession is a miracle found only in Mark, the healing of the blind man at Bethsaida (8,22-26). Two points support this.

First, the arrival of Jesus and his disciples at Bethsaida marks the end of Jesus' journeys, begun at 4,35, back and forth across the sea of Galilee. In this regard, Bethsaida becomes the goal of Jesus' sea journeys⁽³²⁾. Indeed, after the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus makes (*ēnagkasen*) his disciples "get into the boat and go before

(31) HEIL, *Jesus Walking on the Sea*, 144 writes, "But Peter suddenly and surprisingly confessed Jesus' character on behalf of the disciples, not because they have understood, but despite the fact that they have not understood these special revelations".

(32) I realize that source and redaction criticism ask if material has been misplaced at this point (see note 13), and I acknowledge that this is a legitimate question proper to these methodologies. My task, however, is to make sense of the narrative logic of the text as it is before us.

him to the other side, Bethsaida, while he dismissed the crowd" (6,45)⁽³³⁾. Because of the storm, however, the disciples do not reach Bethsaida, instead they arrive at Gennesaret (6,53). It is with this journey, which does not attain its stated goal, that a series of misunderstandings on the part of the disciples begins (6,52; 7,18; 8,4; 8,14-21). When Jesus and the disciples finally arrive at Bethsaida (8,22), this series of misunderstandings concludes⁽³⁴⁾.

The Journey to Bethsaida

6,45 The crossing to *Bethsaida* is interrupted by a storm.

The Incomprehension of the Disciples

6,52 The disciples do not recognize Jesus' epiphany or understand the miracle of the loaves; their hearts are hardened.

6,53 The boat arrives at *Gennesaret*.

7,18 The disciples do not comprehend Jesus' parable about clean and unclean.

8,4 The disciples do not comprehend that Jesus can feed the four thousand.

8,13 Jesus and the disciples cross to the *other shore*.

8,14-21 The disciples misunderstand Jesus' remarks about the leaven of the Pharisees and the Herodians.

The Lifting of the Disciples' Hardness of Heart

8,22-26 Jesus and the disciples arrive at *Bethsaida*, the blind man is healed.

8,27-30 Peter recognizes that Jesus is the Messiah at Caesarea Philippi.

Second, at Bethsaida a blind man is brought to Jesus, and those leading him beg Jesus to touch him. The ensuing miracle occurs in two phases. First, after spitting on the man's eyes and laying hands upon him, Jesus asks, "Do you see anything?" (8,23), and the man replies, "I see men, but they look like trees, walking" (8,24). Sec-

⁽³³⁾ At this point there is no mention of Bethsaida in the parallel text of Matthew (14,22).

⁽³⁴⁾ There is, of course, another series of misunderstandings, after Peter's confession, concerning the suffering Messiah. But that set of misunderstandings is distinct from this series which centers on the feeding miracles.

ond, Jesus lays his hands on the man's eyes, looks intently, and the man sees everything clearly (*tēlaugōs hapanta*).

Although several commentators have suggested that this two step progression is related to the growing perception of the disciples, it has proven notoriously difficult to explain how it is⁽³⁵⁾. A clue, however, may be found in the final words of Jesus' conversation with the disciples in the boat. At the conclusion of that discussion, Jesus asks, "Do you not yet understand?" (8,21). There is no response from the disciples, and Jesus' question remains unanswered until Peter's confession. At Caesarea Philippi the disciples, in the person of Peter, finally understand what Jesus has been talking about and recognize what would have been apparent to them in the miracle of the loaves, if their hearts were not hardened: Jesus is the Messiah. That the disciples now recognize that Jesus is the Messiah means that this hardness of heart, the source of the incomprehension noted above, has been lifted.

The healing of the blind man at Bethsaida, therefore, points to something which has happened to the disciples; it is paradigmatic. Their eyes have been opened because their hardness of heart has been removed. The disciples now see clearly *everything which has happened thus far in the narrative*; they see that Jesus is the Shepherd Messiah. This is not to say that they comprehend the mystery of the suffering Son of Man (the subject matter of the second part of the Gospel), but they do see the significance of the feeding miracles. Thus there is a certain correspondence between the healing of the blind man in two phases and the disciples' coming to understanding. Previous to Peter's confession, the disciples are like the blind man to whom men appear like trees, walking. They have a vague understanding of Jesus. Like Herod and the crowd, they can only speculate about his identity (6,14-15; 8,28), but they do not (cannot) recognize that he is the Messiah. After Peter's confession, the disciples see clearly what has been the main focus of this section, and the first half of the gospel: Jesus is the Shepherd Messiah. Such clear perception does not rule out further incomprehension, as the second

(35) For a summary of different attempts to explain why Jesus heals the man in two stages see, E. S. JOHNSON, "Mark viii. 22-26: The Blind Man from Bethsaida", *NTS* 25 (1979) 370-383, esp. 381-383. For Johnson the two stages of Jesus' healing point to the imperfect vision of the disciples which will be made whole only after the resurrection.

half of the gospel will show, but it is clear perception, at least for the moment.

That there is a relationship between the healing of the blind man and Peter's confession is evident from the structure of the two stories, both of which have a two step progression. In step one, Jesus asks the man if he sees anything and then he responds that he sees men but they look like trees walking (8,23-24). Corresponding to this, Jesus asks the disciples who do people say that he is, and they reply John the Baptist, Elijah, or one of the prophets (8,27-28). In both cases there is faulty vision or perception. In step two, Jesus lays his hands upon the blind man's eyes, and the man sees everything clearly (8,25-26). Corresponding to this, Jesus asks the disciples who do they say that he is, and Peter correctly answers that he is the Messiah (8,29). Like the blind man, the disciples see clearly. Finally, both stories conclude with a command of secrecy. Jesus tells the man not to enter the village (8,26), and he commands the disciples to tell no one that he is the Messiah (8,30). Neither the man nor the disciples are to disclose their new vision at this point.

| Mark 8,22-26 | Mark 8,27-30 |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Bethsaida | villages of Caesarea Philippi |
| man brought to Jesus | |
| man led out of the village | |
| "Do you see anything?" | "Who do men say that I am?" |
| man sees imperfectly | disciples report imperfect |
| | opinions |
| | |
| Jesus lays hands on man | Peter correctly identifies |
| man sees clearly | Jesus as the Messiah |
| | "And he charged them to tell |
| "Do not even enter the village". | no one about him". |

This chart shows the structural similarities between the two stories. It also reveals that in the account of Peter's confession there is nothing corresponding to Jesus laying his hands on the blind man's eyes, and in fact one would not expect such a gesture from Jesus in this situation. Nevertheless, I suggest that something has happened between step one and step two at Caesarea Philippi; the disciples' hardness of heart has been removed. It is this action, not explicitly identified in the text, which corresponds to Jesus laying his hands on the eyes of the blind man.

The paradigmatic use of this healing story should not surprise us since Mark employs other healing stories in a similar fashion. P. J. Achtemeier has shown that the healing of blind Bartimaeus in 10,46-52 is more than a healing miracle; it is a story of discipleship⁽³⁶⁾. Having received his sight (that is, having recognized that Jesus is the Messiah), Bartimaeus follows Jesus on the way (*en tē hodō*) of discipleship. Likewise, the healing of the deaf and dumb man in 7,31-37, a miracle peculiar to Mark and possessing strong linguistic ties to the healing at Bethsaida, also functions in a paradigmatic way. In this instance, however, it emphasizes the disciples' hardness of heart which prevents them from hearing clearly and speaking correctly (8,14-21).

Finally, the centurion's confession that Jesus was truly God's son (15,39), a confession which is clearly related to Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi, is also related to the concept of seeing. When the centurion sees (*idōn de ho kentyrion*) how Jesus died, then he makes his confession. Furthermore, as in the case of Peter's confession, a divine prodigy precedes this confession: the temple veil is torn from top to bottom (15,38). Thus, Mark draws a comparison between Peter's confession and the confession of the centurion. Peter's confession occurs after his hardness of heart has been lifted, and the centurion makes his confession after the temple veil which conceals the divine glory has been torn from top to bottom⁽³⁷⁾.

To summarize, the narrative logic of Mark's story is somewhat akin to what is found in Matthew's Gospel. The feeding miracles provide evidence that Jesus is the Shepherd Messiah, but before the disciples can understand this their hardness of heart must be removed. Whereas Matthew speaks directly of God's intervention in Peter's confession, Mark suggests, by the healing of the blind man at Bethsaida, that God has removed the disciples' hardness of heart.

⁽³⁶⁾ P. J. ACHEMEIER, "'And He Followed Him': Miracles and Discipleship in Mark 10: 46-52", *Semeia* 11 (1978) 115-145.

⁽³⁷⁾ I am aware of the scholarly discussion regarding this text, i.e., whether the veil was the great outer curtain or the inner curtain before the Holy of Holies. I do not pretend to have solved that debate, I am merely suggesting that there is a certain similarity between the two confessions, and that this similarity might suggest that the text intends the inner curtain, the one which concealed God's presence.

Conclusion

This study has argued that the theme of the disciples' incomprehension in 6,14–8,30 serves the Christological function of heightening the mystery of Jesus' identity⁽³⁸⁾. The ultimate reason for the disciples' incomprehension is not a failure on their part, but the hardening of their hearts. And the hardening of their hearts is the Evangelist's way of saying that the mystery of Jesus' person is too great for human beings to perceive without divine assistance. Ultimately, the theme of the disciples' incomprehension tells us more about Jesus than it does about the disciples⁽³⁹⁾.

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SOMMAIRE

L'article traite de la tension narrative créée par l'incompréhension des disciples et la confession de Pierre en Mc 6,14–8,30. Comment Pierre peut-il reconnaître que Jésus est le Messie alors que lui-même et les autres disciples n'ont jamais compris Jésus. Après avoir étudié 6,37; 6,52; 7,18; 8,4; 8,14–21, l'article conclut que l'incompréhension des disciples n'est pas de type moral mais qu'elle est due à la dureté de cœur, contre laquelle les disciples ne peuvent rien. La confession de Pierre peut avoir lieu seulement lorsque cette dureté de cœur est supprimée, ce que Marc exprime par la guérison de l'aveugle de Betsaïde.

⁽³⁸⁾ D. R. CATCHPOLE, "The 'triumphal' Entry", *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (ed. E. Bammel – C. F. E. Moule) (Cambridge 1984) 319–334 makes an important remark when he writes, "... the disciples' misunderstanding is inevitable and christologically conditioned, precisely as a pointer to the reader that in Jesus something is happening which is, in the style of apocalyptic, wholly other and beyond man's capacity to understand except through revelation" (327).

⁽³⁹⁾ I do not agree with FOWLER, *Loaves and Fishes*, 130 "that the controversy between Jesus and the disciples is the central focus" of the feeding stories. The central focus of these stories is the revelation of Jesus' person. Nor can I agree completely with TANNEHILL, "The Disciples in Mark", 393 when he writes, "Even in the first half of the Gospel the blindness of the disciples is associated with fear, lack of trust, and anxious concern. . .". To be sure the disciples manifest fear and lack of trust, but the root cause of their incomprehension is hardness of heart over which they do not have complete control.

The Function of Stephen's Speech (Acts 7,2-53)

I. Themes of the Speech Itself

Since before the turn of the century, the most dominant method used in the study of the Stephen speech has been the tradition-redaction method⁽¹⁾. This method is founded on a conviction there is

(1) Cf., e.g., E. HAENCHEN, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford 1971) 289, "In sum, then, verses 35, 37, 39-43 and 48-53 appear to be Lucan additions... Luke has taken over a 'history-sermon' *en bloc* and tailored it for his purposes with additions (and perhaps also abbreviations)". E-M. BOISMARD, "Le Martyre d'Etienne Actes 6,8-8,2", *RSR* 69 (1981), on the basis of "un brusque changement de tonalité", divides the speech at first into two parts: vv. 2-34 and 44-50; vv. 35-43 and 51-53 (184), but then, by use of further criteria, divides the speech in this way: "au discours primitif d'Etienne" belong vv. 35-41 and 51-52; Luke would have added vv. 2-34.42-50.53 (191). For other summations of source critiques, cf. T. L. DONALDSON, "Moses Typology and the Sectarian Nature of Early Christian Anti-Judaism: a Study of Acts 7", *JSNT* 12 (1981) 27-52; J. DUPONT, "La structure oratoire du discours d'Etienne (Actes 7)", *Bib* 66 (1985) 154-155, n. 4; E. RICHARD, *Acts 6:1-8:4 The Author's Method of Composition* (Missoula, Montana 1978) 1-31 and E. RICHARD, "The Polemical Character of the Joseph Episode in Acts 7", *JBL* 98 (1979) 255-256, nn. 4, 5, 6. For a summary of source criticism of the entire Stephen episode, cf. BOISMARD, "Martyre", 182: "Selon les uns, Luc dépendrait d'une source qui présentait la lapidation d'Etienne comme la conséquence d'une émeute populaire; il aurait complété le récit en ajoutant tout ce qu'implique une comparution devant le Sanhédrin. Proposée par B. Weiss (1899), cette hypothèse fut reprise, entre autres, par H. H. Wendt (1889), A. Harnack (1908), H. W. Surkau (1938), E. Haenchen (1956), E. Trocmé (1957), J. Bihler (1963), H. Conzelmann (1963), moyennant quelques variantes quant à la reconstitution du récit primitif... Selon d'autres commentateurs, la dualité du récit proviendrait de ce que Luc aurait fusionné deux sources différentes; la plus ancienne parlait d'une émeute populaire, la plus récente d'un procès devant le Sanhédrin. Proposée par P. Feine (1891), cette hypothèse fut reprise, ici encore avec des variantes, par F. Spitta (1891), J. Jüngst (1895), F. Jackson - K. Lake (1922), O. Bauernfeind (1939), G. Stählin (1968)".

something in the text that signals a presence of sources, sources which then have been combined with editorial work to produce the Stephen speech of Acts. The outcome of this tradition-redaction approach has been unsatisfactory, both because scholars using this method do not agree with one another about sources and because few agree with others as to the meaning of what Luke eventually put together as Stephen's speech. Perhaps another approach than the tradition-redaction method might help; to this end the following essay has been written.

Because the speech of Stephen is by its calling a piece of rhetoric, it deserves to be studied by rhetorical principles⁽²⁾. Yet, because rhetorical principles best explain a true speech, not one meant only to be read and one meant to function as part of a large story, one must be wary of assuming that rhetorical criticism is the answer needed for this speech⁽³⁾. But one essential element of rhetoric seems valid for the study of such a literary writing as the speech of Stephen and that is that a speech will have a goal towards which all its parts work together; i.e., in the light of this goal all the rest of the speech makes sense. (One might even go so far as to say that, unless Luke has fumbled badly, even a use of originally unrelated sources must fit well into the overall purpose of the speech the editor has in mind.)

What, then, is the central point of Stephen's speech? What is Stephen trying to accomplish with his audience? The answer to these questions lies at the end of the speech, in vv. 51-53⁽⁴⁾. If

(2) For an analysis of Stephen's speech according to rhetorical principles, cf. DUPONT, "La structure oratoire", 153-157.

(3) DUPONT, "La structure oratoire", 162 (referring to H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft* [München 1973] I, 40-551), makes the distinction: "La 'rhétorique littéraire' n'obéit pas exactement aux mêmes contraintes que l'art oratoire".

(4) HAENCHEN, *Acts*, 286-287, lists the major suggestions of exegetes as to the theme of the speech: "antithesis between the wondrous works of God and Israel's constant ingratitude"; "Moses as type of the Messiah"; "God's saving presence is not limited to the Temple". F. F. BRUCE, "Stephen's Apologia", *Scripture: Meaning and Method* (FS. A. T. Hanson; [ed. B. THOMPSON] Hull, England 1987) 40, notes that vv. 51-53 bring "to a climax the disobedience of earlier generations", though Bruce himself believes, as do many others, that the speech concentrates on the question of worship. J. W. BOWKER, "Speeches in Acts. A Study in Proem and Yellammedenu Form", *NTS* 14 (1967) 96-111, while trying to argue that Stephen's speech is

Stephen's audience wonders just what Stephen has been leading up to through his lengthy rehearsal of Israelite history, they finally get the point in vv. 51-53; they show they have gotten the point by their reaction, which is such that it terminates the speech.

Verses 51-53 ask for nothing. Rather, they accuse. What is the accusation? It is twofold. First, that Stephen's present listeners are just as stubborn and insensitive as their forefathers⁽⁵⁾. Secondly, that history, this history which Stephen has just narrated, reveals that Israel has consistently opposed the Holy Spirit of God⁽⁶⁾. Giv-

patterned after synagogal sermons, notes, "This again is a consistent discourse on the theme of rejection; God often uses those who seem to be most despised and rejected by other men. The proem text is Gen 12,1; The *sedet* implied is Exod 23,12-34,9 and the *haftarah* Isa 65,25-66,5 (which would explain the otherwise apparent digression to consider the Temple, though the actual quotation of the *haftarah* would be unusual)" (107). I. H. MARSHALL, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Leicester 1980) 132, believes that the "two themes intermingled in the speech" focus on the representatives of God and worship. DUPONT, "La structure oratoire", 160, in identifying rhetorical elements of the speech, says of vv. 51-53: "... l'interpellation devient explicite dans les accusations véhémentes dont le ton passionné correspond bien à ce qu'on peut attendre d'une *peroratio*. ... Ce réquisitoire n'a pas besoin d'avoir un lien très précis avec tel ou tel point particulier du discours. Son rapport global avec l'ensemble est bien marqué par les termes du v. 51: 'Tels furent vos pères, tels vous êtes vous-mêmes'... Bien détachée du corps du discours, la *peroratio* reste conforme aux règles du genre oratoire".

(⁵) A key component of the entire speech is the correlative *HOS hoi pateres KAI hymeis* (v. 51). All the previous history, whether in argumentative form or not, reaches its fulfillment and explanation here; it is here that one sees what service recollection of the past has performed. So, too, through it one sees how the past has led inevitably to the present, to this moment of confrontation, and this moment of confrontation is best understood against the background of Israel's history. Noteworthy is the manner of expression of unity between fathers and children in v. 52: *they* killed the ones who prophesied the coming of the one *you* have killed; in this way the children not only act like their fathers, but bring their fathers' evil deeds to conclusion. One is reminded of a similar type of arguing in Jesus' time: "You are witnesses to and agree with the works of your fathers concerning the prophets, for they did the killing and you finish it off by doing the tomb-building" (Luke 11,48). Again, the children bring the works of the fathers to completion. It is this completion of past in present that Stephen's speech wants to underline.

(⁶) One cannot forget, with Stephen's reference to opposition to the Holy Spirit (v. 51), the culmination of Peter's multi-layered defense stretching from over Chapters 4 and 5 of Acts: "We testify to this" (cf. 1,8,22; 2,32; 3,15;

en this bitter message of stubborn opposition to the Spirit as the essence of Stephen's message to his audience, one can begin to see how various elements of the Speech of Stephen fall into place.

1. *The Fathers' Rejection of Moses*

Perhaps most visible is the disobedience and opposition of Israel to Moses, which culminates in the rejection of God because "we do not know what happened to Moses" (v. 40). This rejection of Moses led to seeking salvation from an idol rather than from God (v. 40). God, in turn, rejects these people, specifically setting them to worship false gods (vv. 42-43) to such a degree that they deserve nothing less than the Babylonian exile for their sin (v. 43)(7). One must recall here that the source of Israel's tragic suffering is rejection of the herald of God, which is the historical mode analogous to rejection of the Spirit of God.

But the Moses episode is larger, by virtue of the stories about Moses from his birth and adulthood (vv. 20-34), than just that rejection of Moses by Israel. Why larger? Because the rejection in the desert was a rejection of God by virtue of a rejection of His representative, it is fitting that this representative be introduced in such a way that one understands the key role he plays in what turns out to be a dispute between two others, God and Israel. In short, one can see the justice of taking time to build up the image of Moses as one

4,2.20.29.31.33; 5,20.30-32). "So too does the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to those who obey Him" (5,32). The Christian union with the Spirit contrasts strongly with the Sanhedrin's opposition to the Spirit; indeed, as Peter's defense ends at Chapter 5,32, so Stephen's accusation reaches back beyond his own speech to define, in the light of previous chapters, the contradictions between Sanhedrin and Christianity which lead to Christianity's turning from Stephen's Jerusalem to "the ends of the earth" in search of those who will not oppose, but listen to the Holy Spirit.

(7) While the question introduced by *mē* can be understood by itself and abstracted from Stephen's speech as complaint or as praise from God, it is clear that Stephen uses this citation to complain and explain why Israel acted so unfaithfully towards God throughout the desert experience. The insertion of Babylon, where Amos intended Damascus, shows how Stephen saw the further blasphemous worship of Israel during the times of the kings as the continuation of what the fathers had begun at Sinai and continued, now as God's punishment, through the desert — a blasphemous worship begun at Sinai and ending in the Babylonian Exile.

long ago chosen by God (at birth and at 40 years old) and sent by God (burning bush); by telling these stories Stephen makes clear how rejection of Moses could become a rejection of the One who sent him⁽⁸⁾.

2. *The Fathers' Disobedience in Relation to the Temple*

Another, more startling because unsuspected example of disobedience to God's Spirit has to do with the Temple of Jerusalem. Here we must make an absolutely essential distinction in order to highlight Stephen's complaint, whether about Solomon who built this house or Stephen's contemporaries who consider the Temple God's house. The distinction is this: Stephen (i.e., Luke) is not against the "Temple" or, as Luke prefers, the *hieron*⁽⁹⁾; he is against the con-

(⁸) Though this point will be highlighted again in the body of this essay, it bears mentioning here. The point is that, for Stephen's argument, one cannot put too much emphasis on the small word *gar* (v. 40). It is the hinge which swings the story from concentration on Moses to emphasis on unacceptable and punished worship. It is not any direct loss of confidence in God, but the ignorance about Moses that raises the desire to turn to other gods who will save. Thus the role of Moses is key to Israel's union with God, as though God is lost when Moses is lost. This inability of Israel to deal with God directly, to remain trusting Him without Moses, is surely an emphasis which Stephen wants to underline as combatant for Christianity which has claimed, "There is no other name under heaven by which one is to be saved" (Acts 4,12). It is through Jesus that one now has access to God and to reject him is to put oneself in a position analogous to that of the fathers at Sinai. It is not by chance that this relationship of God and His representative picks up an earlier fundamental theme of Acts: witnessing. Moreover, it is not by chance, in a speech so concerned with a contradiction about Israel's place of worship, that the abandoning (*apōsanto* — v. 39) of Moses has false worship as its one explicit result.

(⁹) D. SYLVA, "The Meaning and Function of Acts 7,46-50", *JBL* 106 (1987) 261-275 has argued strongly that Stephen speaks against the Temple with the goal in mind that the audience should realize that God is to be worshipped everywhere, not held down to one localized building; Stephen's proposition fits in well with the rest of the speech which means to argue that, as God has worked His salvific will for Abraham, Joseph, Moses and still others, outside of the Temple, He will not be held to one place but is saving and present throughout the world. A similar argument has been made by DONALDSON, "Moses Typology", 27-52. BRUCE, "Apologia", 40, follows this same line of thought. C. K. BARRETT, "Old Testament History according to Stephen and Paul", *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des*

cept of the Temple as the "house" of God, or better, against the concept that says that the Most High is "housed" in something made by human hands. Put conversely, if Israel, whether Solomon or Stephen's contemporaries (or David in the Old Testament for that matter), had not referred to the Temple as God's house⁽¹⁰⁾, Stephen would find nothing wrong with the existence of the Temple⁽¹¹⁾.

Neuen Testaments (FS. H. Greeven; [Hrsg. W. SCHRAGE] Berlin - New York 1986) 57-69, makes the precise distinction that one can draw from the Old Testament and from Stephen's speech that "God chose a moveable tent for his home, but Solomon insisted on building him a house" (68).

⁽¹⁰⁾ It is worthwhile to report on the actual use of *oikos*, in Acts and in the Gospel of Luke, as a word used by the author to describe the Jerusalem Temple. In Acts, *oikos* is never elsewhere than in the speech of Stephen used to describe the Temple of Jerusalem. Added to this is the fact that Acts never speaks badly of the Temple elsewhere, but always is more than tolerant of it. Thus, one is led to conclude that the problem Stephen raises here is to be found, not in the Temple itself, but in the concept of the Temple as "house". This means that fault-finding is aimed at those who conceive of the Temple this way, not at the Temple itself.

In the Gospel of Luke, *oikos* is used 4 times possibly about the Temple. In Luke 6,4, Jesus refers to God's *house* in relating the story of David's searching for bread for himself and his companions. It is difficult to weigh Jesus's use of this word because he is telling an Old Testament story, where *oikos*, so often used of the Temple in the Old Testament, might be meant to give Old Testament flavor. In any event, this story does not concern the Temple of Jerusalem. In Luke 11,51, which speaks of the death of Zechariah, Jesus uses the word *oikos*, but in a restricted sense, reserving *oikos* for a part of the Temple exclusive of the *thysiastērion*, and using, in any case, the word employed by the LXX. Luke 13,35, which reports Jesus's lament over Jerusalem, contains Jesus's words, that *idou aphietai hymin ho oikos hymōn*; but it is not clear at all that *oikos* here means Temple. Finally, Luke 19,46 is a citation from Isaiah by which Jesus notes that the Temple should be a *oikos proseuchēs*. As in previous examples, Jesus may be limiting himself to terminology owed directly to his Old Testament source, but in this last case a clear distinction is drawn. God's Temple is a house, if it is considered a house of prayer. But if the Temple is conceived to be a house for the dwelling of the Most High who cannot be conceived to dwell in a man-made house, the Temple is misconceived — and God, as well. Apart from these four examples, Luke never in the Gospel refers to the Temple as *oikos*.

⁽¹¹⁾ As it is wrong to condemn the Temple totally because some people think of it as a "house" for God, so it is questionable to conclude from any

Thus, it is Stephen's perception of his contemporaries' understanding of the Temple which moves Stephen to argue that past and present Israel contradicts prophecy from God Himself. Perhaps it is the fact that Stephen, the Hellenist, lived most of his life among pagan temples (*cheiropoiëtois naois* — Acts 17,24) that made him sensitive to anyone's calling a building the "house" of God⁽¹²⁾. Whatever the reason, it is clear that, in this case of opposition to

condemnation of the Temple by Stephen that Stephen means to argue that God is not to be localized in one building, but is to be found everywhere. Certainly, the other parts of Stephen's speech can be understood in such a way that they do not conspire to this universalistic thesis. In particular, Stephen has already recognized the validity of the *skēnē tou martyriou* and offers no criticism of the *skēnōma* David wished to build. This means that localized places of prayer and worship are acceptable to Stephen. It makes little sense to say that the *skēnōma* is acceptable because it is moveable, but the Temple is not because it is not moveable. The question is, what is conceived of as a "house" for God? That is unacceptable, in so far as such a conception is unacceptable. From another point of view, we note that Luke is very careful to bring the discussion of dwellings or meeting places with God to the mention of "house", for it is by this word (and *oikodomein* before it) that Luke finds his entry point into the Isaiah citation which condemns, not the Temple, but the conception that the Most High should find Himself housed by human hands.

That the Temple would be destroyed because of Jerusalem's refusal to accept Jesus is an affirmation that can be drawn from the Gospels. It is strongly implied, too, by Stephen. But Stephen adds the explicit accusation that a concept of the Temple (and of God, necessarily) contradicts the teaching of the Holy Spirit; for this contradiction the Temple might also be judged as a place unworthy of worship of God and deserving destruction.

(12) In describing the difference between "Hebrews" and "Hellenists" in Acts, MARSHALL, *Acts*, 126 notes, "The former group would be principally of Palestinian origin, while the latter would be principally Jews of the Dispersion who had come to settle in Jerusalem". BRUCE, "Apologia", 37 notes, "If the basic difference between the two groups was linguistic, there would be other differences, both cultural and religious, giving each group a sense of separate corporate identity". Cf. G. SCHNEIDER, "Stephanus, Die Hellenisten und Samaria", *Les Actes des Apôtres* (ed. J. KREMER) (Louvain 1979) 215-240, "Neben der Völkerliste des Pfingstberichts werden App 6,9 weitere Jüdensgruppen aus der Diaspora genannt, die (wenigstens teilweise) in Jerusalem eigene Synagogengemeinden hatten" (219). It is not improbable, then, that Stephen was well acquainted with and averse to temples established as "houses" of gods, and that this experience led him to form his particularized condemnation of the Jerusalem Temple.

prophecy, Stephen can establish his primary message: Israel contradicts the Spirit who speaks through prophecy.

Stephen had introduced his audience to this topic of the Temple by recalling the Tent of Witness and the *skēnōma* desired by David. This part of the Israelite history is not condemned and becomes the correct way from which later Israel (from Solomon⁽¹³⁾ onward) deviated, through a misconception of the Temple; the older history, then, in its own way criticizes the deviation of later history.

Stephen does not follow through here, as he had in the Moses story, by arguing that God would punish wrongdoing. It is not unreasonable, however, to think that this wrong understanding of the Temple (which really reveals a wrong appreciation of God's very being) justifies in Stephen's mind the eventual destruction of the Temple, for speaking of which destruction Stephen was brought to this trial.

It is in relation to this discussion of the Temple that the Abraham story makes sense. Abraham was called to that land on which his descendants would eventually be destined to worship God. Worship of God, then, is the goal of the call of Abraham — and worship of God has been and continues to be threatened by the conception of the Temple (and of God) which contradicts the words of God's own Spirit⁽¹⁴⁾. Thus, whereas Stephen might have been satisfied to note that a certain Jewish conception of the Temple runs against God's conception of the Temple, Stephen chose, by telling the Abraham story, to show that this Jewish con-

(¹³) It is not clear just why Stephen picked Solomon, rather than David, to be associated with a "house" for God. Perhaps it is simply that Solomon, not David, actually built the Temple of Jerusalem, and that David, if one concentrates on LXX Ps 131,3-5, is limited to wanting a *skēnōma* for the God of Jacob (though, if David lived in a *skēnōma*, it could be argued that David is desiring to put God into a dwelling, like David's, made by human hands).

(¹⁴) One cannot help see reflected in Stephen's speech the phrasing of the hymn of Zachary (Luke 1,68-79, especially vv. 68-75) by which the earliest and later history of Israel point towards a savior who will allow Israel to worship God in holiness and justice forever. It is Israel's goal in life to perform this worship in holiness and justice; for this it was founded, for this it was re-constituted under Ezra and Nehemiah and then under Maccabees, so that the presentation of bad worship represents the frustration of Israel's very reason for existence.

ception of the Temple cuts through Israel's very reason for existing. In short, Israel was not founded to worship God wrongly⁽¹⁵⁾.

3. *The Fathers' Rejection of Joseph*

The Joseph story belongs here. This story begins with the rejection of Joseph "because of jealousy". Are we to bring to bear on this one word of the Joseph story what we know to have been the source of the jealousy? Is this what Stephen expects by pointing up the motivation for Joseph's having been sold into Egypt? It seems so, and thereby we are introduced to the story of a person designated by God to rule over his brothers (as Joseph's dreams were interpreted), but rejected out of jealousy. We have then another example of the refusal of some of Israel to listen to the will of God⁽¹⁶⁾ (this time a rejection of revelation through dreams, but analogous to rejection of God's Spirit in prophecy). Unlike the Moses story, the outcome of this event is happy, though ironic, for it is through the very person rejected that Israel is saved from famine, finds a preferred status with Pharaoh, and even enjoys that final blessing for which peoples of this time longed: to be buried with their fathers. The "happy ending", however, was not owed to Israel; to certain of the fathers of Israel belonged the rejection of him whom God intended to be their ruler and who did become their ruler, despite their machinations.

⁽¹⁵⁾ One need only recall the reasons for the existence of the Qumran community and for the separation of the Essenes in Jerusalem from other Jews to remember the crucial part proper worship played in the consciousness of Israel's religious people. Cf. BRUCE, "Apologia", 48. HAENCHEN, *Acts*, 290 is a bit excessive in his statement that Stephen's "rejection of the Temple and the Temple-cult... has not the slightest connection with Qumran's formal rejection of the Temple worship at Jerusalem". Nor does this present essay agree with him that Stephen outrightly rejects the Temple; he rejects the conception of the Temple as a "house". For an interesting study of IQS and Stephen's speech, cf. A. F. J. KLIJN, "Stephen's Speech — Acts VII. 2-53", *NTS* 4 (1957) 25-31.

⁽¹⁶⁾ For a fuller analysis of Stephen's Joseph story, cf. RICHARD, "The Polemical Character", 255-267.

4. *The Fathers' Killing of the Prophets*

Stephen began his comments to the Sanhedrin by referring to the time of Abraham, even before he reached Israel, and has run through the history of Israel to the time of Solomon. Actually, though the manner of description is changed, he continues this story into the time of the prophets, as he makes clear at the end of his speech by reference to their all being opposed, even to death. The killing of the prophets is another example of that opposition to God which characterized Israel's fathers.

But the prophets are presented in a second way, from a particular point of view. They, killed by the fathers, are the ones who foretold the coming of the Just One, whom Stephen's audience, in imitation of the fathers, has killed. Like fathers, like children once again⁽¹⁷⁾.

Thus, the speech is overtly a lengthy argument of accusation, contending that a review of Israel's history up to the present generation will show that the children are like their fathers, always stiff-necked and uncircumcised of heart, always in opposition to the Holy Spirit of God. All sections of the speech can be understood as contributing strength to Stephen's argument.

II. Christology, a Theme of the Speech?

It seems clear that Stephen's speech, something like the speech of Paul at Athens, lacks that witness to Jesus which characterizes the usual Acts speech⁽¹⁸⁾. As regards amount of material reference to

⁽¹⁷⁾ Particularly akin to Jesus's earlier argument is Stephen's way of describing the relationship between the murderers of the prophets and the murderers of the object of their prophecy, "They committed the murders (of the prophets) and you complete this by building the tombs" (Luke 11,48). Cf. J. ROLOFF, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen 1981) 118.

⁽¹⁸⁾ It is exactly this "lack of witness to Jesus" which puts a strain on the interpretation which says that the speech is concerned with strengthening potential martyrs or condemning the Temple, in particular, or Israel in general. One looks for signs, rather, that this speech, like all other elements of Acts, is a manifestation of that definition of the disciples' role in the story of Acts, "You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in Judaea and Samaria and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1,8).

Jesus, this is true: Jesus only comes to the fore in the last sentence of the speech. Even here, Jesus is not named, but is rather a further example, as far as Stephen is concerned, of that opposition to God which characterizes Israel. The "Just One" is a title in harmony with the direction of this accusation against Israel; Jesus is not the criminal, as his crucifixion might suggest, but those who put him to death are criminal, indeed are those who in crucifying him opposed God⁽¹⁹⁾.

While it is true from one point of view that Christology is not the overt theme of the speech (likeness between the fathers and their children in opposition to the Spirit is this theme), it is important to be aware that it is the mention of the rejection of Jesus, a contemporaneous event, that produces the "interruption"⁽²⁰⁾ to the speech, the "being stung to the heart" and the "grinding of teeth (v. 51)". In other words, it is not the recital of historical opposition to God that has riled the Sanhedrin, nor even exactly the personal negative descriptions of stiff-necked and uncircumcised of heart and ears, but the suggestion that what they had done to Jesus was unjust, that the Sanhedrin was unjust. One might say that just as the Jewish tradition, visible in the first two chapters of Wisdom, was used by Christians to clarify the public life and last hours of Jesus, so this tradition also is used by them to reveal the true identity of the Sanhedrin at that tragic moment.

Now, it is this completion of the speech with the mention of that person's death about whom the prophets spoke that makes one think that, though the speech depends on past infidelities to God to

⁽¹⁹⁾ Gamaliel's reasoning is pertinent throughout the Jerusalem tension between witnessing Christians and Jewish leaders who had participated in ridding Israel of Jesus: it is a possibility that Israel, under leadership of the Sanhedrin, could find itself opposed to God in its opposition to Christianity (Acts 5,39). Those opposed to the Just One play their own significant part in such a description as is found in Wis 2,12-24, where they are the interlocutors and the story is told from their point of view. In this Wisdom monologue, the unjust is at the center of the writer's concern.

⁽²⁰⁾ HAENCHEN, *Acts*, 526, in speaking about the ending of the Areopagus speech, notes that even if one were to think that the speech ends with an interruption by the audience, the speech needs no completion, for (and he cites M. DIBELIUS, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* [London 1956] 57): "it is inherently quite complete". The same judgment should be applied to the way in which Luke concludes Stephen's speech.

make its point, the most glaring example of Israel's rejection of God's voice is taken from the present — the rejection of Jesus. In a certain sense, then, Christology, at the service of Stephen's explicit argument, is seen as a very important and culminating element of the speech. Indeed, it suggests something further, something we must now investigate.

III. Relation of Speech to Context

One difference between an actual, intended-to-be-delivered speech and a purely literary, never-to-be-delivered speech is revealed by the degree of unity between the latter type of speech and its context. It is to this relationship between speech and context, particularly with an eye to the effect of context on speech, that we now turn.

In three stages accusations against Stephen are brought forward; from first to third there is a clear progression towards greater specificity⁽²¹⁾. First, he is faulted for speaking against Moses and God (6,11). Then, he is accused of speaking against "this Holy Place" and the Law (6,13); one can see here more specifically how Stephen was supposed to be speaking "against Moses and God". Finally, it is made clear that Stephen's speaking against the Holy Place and the Law is found in his claim that Jesus said he would destroy the Holy Place and change the Law (6,14).

Such were the ever-clearer sets of accusations which provoked the speech of Stephen. As the speech shows, Stephen did not challenge these accusations⁽²²⁾; he does not deny that Jesus ever said he

⁽²¹⁾ R. PESCH, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, I (EKKNT; Zurich 1986) 238-239, notes this ever-greater concretization of the accusations, though he identifies the first formulation as coming from Luke's source, the second and third formulations coming from Luke himself.

⁽²²⁾ PESCH, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, I, 244, notes that the speech does not match the accusations. Similarly, BRUCE, "Apologia", 39; HAENCHEN, *Acts*, 286, "Stephen is supposed to be answering the question whether he is guilty of the charge, but a very large part of his speech has no bearing on this at all!"; J. C. ATIENZA, "Hechos 7,17-43 y las corrientes cristológicas dentro de la primitiva comunidad cristiana", *EB* 33 (1974) 36, n. 16; SCHNEIDER, "Stephanus", 220, "Die Rede... geht nicht direkt auf die Anklagepunkte ein, lässt aber doch deutlich werden, dass die Einstellung des Stephanus zu Tem-

would destroy the Temple and change the Law, nor explain in what sense Jesus might have said these things, nor does he ever deny that he, Stephen, ever said the things of which he is accused.

Yet, after reading the ensuing speech of Stephen, one has the impression that the three elements of the final form of the accusations — Jesus, Temple and Law — are, each in its own way, at the heart of Stephen's discourse. This is not to deny what we have already established, that the explicit argument of the speech is the accusation, sustained by reference to past and present examples, that Israel has always opposed and is now opposing the will of God. It is rather to suggest that, in harmony with the context in which the speech is placed, there is an underlying, driving argument which surfaces only now and then, but still throbs through the speech and tugs at the consciousness of the reader. What is this argument?

1. *Jesus, a Theme of the Entire Stephen Episode*

There is a line visible from one end of the Stephen episode to the other in which the concern is with Jesus. The Sanhedrin who hears Stephen is the Sanhedrin who put Jesus to death, who has strongly opposed, from Chapter 4 onwards, any resurgence of faith in and preaching about Jesus. The accusations include the strange association of destruction of the Temple and change of the Law with Jesus. The speech is broken off once reference to Jesus is made. Stephen is stoned to death because he claimed to see the Son of Man, whom Luke identifies for us as Jesus, at the right hand of God⁽²³⁾.

pel und Gesetz in Wirklichkeit differenzierte zu beurteilen ist"; H. THYEN, *Der Stil der Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Homilie* (Göttingen 1955) 19, "Das schwierigste exegetische Problem der Stephanusrede (Act 7/2-53) liegt in der Beziehungslosigkeit ihres Inhalte zu der Anklage des Synedrums (Act 6/8ff.)".

⁽²³⁾ It is worthwhile to recall the apparent intention of Luke when he reports Jesus' response to the Sanhedrin at his trial. Whereas Mark (and Matthew after him) notes that Jesus promises that the Sanhedrin which judges him will be judged by him when it "sees the Son of Man seated at the right hand of the Power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark 14,62), Luke speaks not of eventual punishment of the Sanhedrin, but of the exaltation of Jesus, despite the Sanhedrin's cruel condemnation, "From now on the Son of Man will have his seat at the right hand of the Power of

To these "Jesus" highlights one adds the elements of the speech which are suggestive of Jesus⁽²⁴⁾. The way in which Joseph is described is significant: the one who saves is the one who has been rejected, he saves those who rejected him, and he saved them precisely through their having rejected him (vv. 9-16). Twice Stephen notes that the rejection of Moses is the rejection of the *archonta kai dikastēn* (vv. 27.35); Jesus is never given those titles in Acts, but analogously the snub of Moses is like that done to Jesus: indeed, who put you over us? Indeed, who did? Again it is Stephen's interjection that "they" (without explicit antecedent) should have understood that Moses was offering "salvation", but, he insists, "they did not understand". Both Joseph and Moses are described, Joseph before Pharaoh (v. 10) and Moses in his childhood (vv. 20.22), as being given grace and wisdom, terms very much used in the description of Jesus (Luke 2,40.52). Given the readiness of Acts to speak of Jesus as the Prophet-like-Moses (3,22), it seems that the reference to this Prophet in Stephen's speech (7,37) means to underscore any Moses-Jesus typology Luke may be developing. The picture of Moses, who has the words of life, being rejected, of God being abandoned because of loss of His representative — again one cannot help see a relationship with the specific Christian claim that

God" (Luke 22,69). Thus, the sight of Jesus, the Son of Man, at the right hand of God shows to Stephen the real outcome of the killing of the Just One, to which he had just made reference. This vision caps the speech, as the resurrection/ascension/sitting at God's right hand capped the crucifixion; each situation, whether that narrated in Luke's Gospel or that referred to by Stephen, has a dynamic which moves necessarily through suffering to glory.

(24) Cf. DUPONT, "La structure oratoire", 158-159, n. 11, who speaks not "de l'exégèse typologique", but "du procédé classique des 'vies parallèles', celui-là même qui permet à Luc d'établir discrètement des correspondances entre les personnages de son récit... Tout cela, bien sûr, avec la discrétion qu'impose une *insinuatio*". PESCH, *Apostelgeschichte*, 247 speaks, however, of Joseph and Moses as "auf Jesus hin typologisch deutbaren Figuren Josef und Moses". ROLOFF, *Apostelgeschichte*, 119 affirms that Stephen does relate Moses to Jesus, "indirekt in Form einer Moses-Christus Typologie". HAENCHEN, *Acts*, 286 is unenthusiastic about any such inter-references; commenting on the opinion of Spitta, that a theme of the speech is Moses as the type of the Messiah, Haenchen notes, "Yet only a few verses speak of this, and what has it to do with the concrete situation?"; earlier Haenchen had raised doubts in the way he wrote, "Even if Joseph were a *typos* of the redeeming Messiah..." (279).

Israel loses its relationship with God by rejecting His representative, Jesus⁽²⁵⁾.

All these elements of the Stephen speech take on new and clearer meaning, once one begins to trace the Jesus thread from accusation to stoning through the elements of the speech of Stephen, elements which are not so well explained by the ostensible theme of the speech: the accusation that "you are just like your fathers in opposition to God's will" (cf. v. 51).

2. *Temple in the Accusations and in the Speech*

Once one begins to suspect that the accusations exert their own influence on the format and material of the speech, one begins to understand the powerful role such a particularity as Temple plays in the speech. The accusations announce the subject of the Temple and the speech picks up this subject as a major element in it. Indeed, the subject of Temple governs the Abraham, Moses and Solomon sections of history in the speech. More particularly, the length of the Moses story is better understood when one sees therein a conjunction of the theme of Jesus with the theme, not precisely of Temple, but of its analogue, worship. That is, one sees in the bitter history of the fathers that rejection of Moses issues in rejection of God (v. 40), which is expressed by false worship (v. 41) and in turn results in the peculiarity of such a further horrendous false worship (vv. 42-43), that it in turn brings nothing less than the Babylonian Exile (v. 43). The author of the speech so writes as to make one wonder, given the tension he has created between Stephen and the Sanhedrin, if the present contradiction, begun by Solomon, that God's Temple is God's house⁽²⁶⁾, will bring about a destruction similar to that by the Babylonians in the past.

⁽²⁵⁾ This intimate relationship between God and Jesus, brought to the fore by Stephen's description of Moses' vital role between God and the People, has already been suggested by Luke, "There is no salvation in anyone else, for there is no other name under heaven given to human beings by which we are to be saved" (Acts 4,12). For an interpretation of Acts 7,35-37, cf. J. VIA, "An Interpretation of Acts 7:35-37 from the Perspective of Major Themes in Luke-Acts", *Seminar Papers, Society of Biblical Literature* 2 (ed. P. ACHTEMEIER) (1978) 209-222.

⁽²⁶⁾ R. W. THURSTON, "Midrash and 'Magnet' Words in the New Testament", *EvQ* 51 (1979) 29, in considering the Temple to be house, footstool,

It is the association of the Jesus and Temple elements in the accusations, then, that begins to explain the artful intertwining of these two particular elements in the speech. The accusations charge that Jesus said he would destroy the Temple. The speech suggests that the Temple will be destroyed because its meaning is so totally wrong that, like at Sinai and in the desert, a "false" god has been created and worship to him is, in this situation, unacceptable. What led to false worship, which determined Israel's tragic fate under the Babylonians, was rejection of the representative of God; what leads to false worship now, perhaps resulting in nothing less than the future destruction of the Temple, is the willingness to contradict the word of God's Spirit through the prophet.

Thus, though Stephen does not answer the accusations in the formal, direct way we might expect, he actually does take up the subject matter of the accusations, Jesus as well as the Temple, and forms his speech out of these elements.

3. *Law in the Accusations and in the Speech*

It is only twice in the speech that reference is made to the Law; at one point it is described as life-giving⁽²⁷⁾, at the end of the speech it is described affirmatively as something given through the commands of angels, but not observed. The Law of Sinai, then, seems a positive force, something commendable; like the Temple, we are reminded, the Law was for Luke a good thing, offering much wisdom for deeds which are to be reflective of true repentance, offering life. Analogous to the Temple, we are also reminded, Luke finds misconceptions about the Law which deserve correction — this we will explain, but in connection with the following consideration.

The question now arises: if Luke intended that the three elements of the accusations — Jesus, Temple, Law — be treated, why did he at the same time develop the Jesus and Temple themes (the

resting-place, notes, "But Is. 66 : 1,2 shows that a temple can never truly be any of these things".

(27) SCHNEIDER, *Apostelgeschichte*, 463 defines *logia dsōnta* in terms of "das Gesetz als Weisung zum wahren Leben". HAENCHEN, *Acts*, 276 translates these Greek words as "living sayings", but later comments that "these sayings were called 'lifegiving'; but Luke has in mind that *dsōē* which is participation in the Kingdom of God" (283).

Jesus theme reaching beyond the speech to the stoning) and give so little attention to the Law?

IV. Stephen's Speech in its Relation to the Acts of the Apostles

The Stephen episode — accusations, speech, stoning — belong to a greater context. In the world of the author of Acts, the Temple has already been destroyed. This means that Stephen's speech turns out to be, as far as its Temple indictment is concerned, a subtle explanation why the Temple had been destroyed. One can point out two diverse ways in which the speech suggests this destruction. First, the conception of the Temple contradicted the Holy Spirit, as He spoke through the Isaiah scripture; implicit in the erroneous conception of the Temple is a false definition of God. Secondly, if the Moses episode was meant to prefigure the Temple theme, the rejection of the representative of God means the abandonment of God Himself and acceptance of false worship. Though Luke does not explain it, he seems to argue that it is Jesus, God's mediator, who will keep the Israelite worship in the Temple a valid, worthy worship; but this representative of God has been rejected, and so it is to be expected with the help of the Moses story that, with God's representative gone, worship of the true God will become unworthy worship. Indeed, the refusal to understand the Temple correctly is the first example of that obstinacy and hardheartedness whose further example is the rejection of Jesus. The two examples are intimately related to each other. Thus, the destruction of the Temple, now a past fact, is explained. And since it is a past fact, one serious, lengthy treatment in Acts is sufficient. It is fitting to locate this argument at the point where Christianity takes leave of unrepentant Jerusalem⁽²⁸⁾.

Whereas the Temple, one of the necessary means to God of those who rejected Jesus, has been, by Luke's writing, destroyed, the problem of the Law⁽²⁹⁾ has not been so easily resolved by the 80's

⁽²⁸⁾ MARSHALL, *Acts*, 132 describes Stephen's speech as a "clearing the way for the Church to turn away from Jerusalem. . .".

⁽²⁹⁾ PESCH, *Apostelgeschichte*, 238 refers to the accusation against Stephen, that Jesus would "change the law", "d.h. im Kontext, die kultische Gesetzgebung".

AD. Certainly, by Luke's time there has been a clarity achieved about the relationship of the Law to salvation for Christians, but, unlike the Temple, the Law was not destroyed, but continued to be central to Judaism and therefore a constant challenge to Christianity through and beyond Luke's time. To handle a vital objection to Christianity, then, Luke needed more than one simple speech; he needed chapters.

Chapter 15 is the chapter of resolution; here in rather simple terms the decision, already expressed in Chapter 4,12 that faith in Jesus alone is necessary for salvation, is applied to circumcision and the Law, proposed by some as necessary (Acts 15,1.5) for salvation⁽³⁰⁾. The simplicity of this decision belies the reality of the struggle. The decision is taken as a result of three arguments. First, there is the witness of Paul and Barnabas as to what God Himself had demanded of the Gentiles for those gifts associated with salvation. To understand this witness one really must have read Chapters 13 and 14. Thus, these two chapters, which can be understood on their own merits, become stepping-stones for Luke to present his bigger subject: the relationship of the Law to salvation.

A second argument leading to the decision of Chapter 15 regarding the Law is the witness of Peter (15,7-11). This witness depends for its full comprehension, however, on Chapters 10 and 11,1-18. Again, while these verses are intelligible in themselves, they form part of Acts' long-range build-up to the eventual decision that Jesus is the only means necessary to salvation. Indeed, along the way, the Peter-Cornelius episode also becomes the *locus* where Luke justifies

⁽³⁰⁾ The limitations of the problem which led to the decision of Acts 15 must be kept in mind. What is at stake is the question of what is necessary for salvation. Law and Temple worship are, in this question, neither pushed aside nor exalted, but recognized by Luke as serviceable for salvation; accordingly, he reports a continued Temple worship and observance of the Jewish Law (e.g., as can be gathered about Christians from the remarks of Acts 21,20-26, when even Paul acknowledges and practices this Jewish way of religious life). It is not Luke's intention, in citing Stephen's argument about Temple or his introduction to the subject of "changing the Law", to contradict the tenor of the rest of his writing. What Luke does want to make clear, for the benefit of Jew and Gentile alike, is what is necessary for salvation — and this is simply one thing, commitment to Jesus.

Christianity's doing away with the particular Mosaic Law dealing with food regulations⁽³¹⁾.

Thus, a major portion of the Acts of the Apostles serves to make the eventual decision of Chapter 15 a reasonable one⁽³²⁾. Literarily, Chapter 15 can be brief and concise because it rests on many previous chapters of preparation. Indeed, besides those listed above, one may also marshal, as preparation for Chapter 15, Chapters 9 (the preparation of him who would be the major figure of Chapters 13 and 14) and 8 (the winning over of those non-Jews of Africa and Samaria).

Given this greater context which surrounds the Stephen episode (we may now include Chapters 2-4 which emphasize that Jesus alone is the means necessary for salvation), the Stephen speech is seen to serve Acts as the moment of introduction of the question of the Law, a question to be resolved only after much more narrative.

Thus, the accusations broached two subjects which would be treated in some depth within the speech. The one, having to do with Jesus, is really treated consistently throughout Acts, so it is not surprising that it comes forcibly into play in light of the entire Stephen episode. The other, having to do with the Temple, is treated here as Christianity takes its turn out of Jerusalem to the ends of the earth. The Temple's actual destruction makes treatment of the Temple relatively simple. With this done, the Temple, one of Israel's two ways of reaching God, is shown its proper place *vis-à-vis* Jesus, believed now to be the only means necessary for salvation. The third element of the accusations, however, would only be introduced, as it were, by Stephen's speech, leaving it to ensuing chapters to bring this thorny problem to its proper resolution.

(31) It is curious that Mark notes the abolition of the law concerning purity/impurity of foods during a discourse of Jesus to the Pharisees (7,19), whereas Luke, ignoring the entire matter in this debate with the Pharisees, presents the abolition of the purity law as the result of a revelation given to Christians after the time of Jesus, without reference (as in Mark's case), to any teaching of Jesus.

(32) For a more detailed explanation of the plan of Acts, cf. J. DUPONT, "La question du plan des Actes des Apôtres à la lumière d'un texte de Lucien de Samosate", *NT* 21 (1979) 220-231.

* * *

It is not tradition-redaction criticism which has yielded the above observations, nor just a pure application of rhetorical criticism. Rather, it is an analogue of rhetorical criticism, with an eye to the various relationships that the Stephen speech has to its immediate and mediate contexts, which brings out the full meaning of the speech of Stephen and explains adequately its context and structure.

The speech, then, is determined in its obvious sense by the accusing claim that the Sanhedrin is always opposing the Holy Spirit. Two immediate arguments supporting this claim are given: first, the peculiar understanding of God's Temple as house contradicts the Spirit who speaks through Isaiah; secondly, the Sanhedrin has killed the Just One. Moreover, one can see, from the proper kind of review of Israel's history, that the contemporary Sanhedrin is just the continuation of the obstinate Israelite fathers of the past, whether in the time of Joseph or in the time of Moses or in the time of Solomon or in the time of the prophets⁽³³⁾.

The speech, however, at a deeper level is controlled by two themes brought forward by the formulation of the accusations against Stephen, and by a third theme only broached in them. Jesus, the first theme, had been proclaimed since Chapter 2 as the one means necessary for salvation and now is the central proclamation of the Stephen episode taken as a whole. What had been a necessary part of salvation for Israel, i.e., the Temple, is the second theme; its demise is subtly hinted at by Stephen and is noted as the destruction of the place of that worship for which Israel had been founded. The third theme, the Mosaic Law, was a second necessary means for salvation for Israel and much more of a lively question at the time of Luke's writing than was the already destroyed Temple. This theme is merely introduced in the speech, becoming part of a well-woven fabric culminating only in Chapter 15.

Text and context, then, yield an explanation of Stephen's speech which looks to two points. On the one hand, Stephen brings to

⁽³³⁾ PESCH, *Apostelgeschichte*, 245, citing ROLOFF, *Apostelgeschichte*, 118, notes that "Israels Widerstand gegen die Verheissung [mentioned in 7,6-7 and 7,17] das eigentliche Thema ist".

conclusion the Jerusalem preaching by a discourse aimed at underlining that attitude which has always provoked God in the past and is provoking Him now, particularly with the death of Jesus and rejection of his witnesses. On the other hand, Stephen's speech helps in the more general explanation Luke gives his readers as to how and why Christianity separated itself from Temple and Law as it professed Jesus alone as the one means necessary for salvation.

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SOMMAIRE

L'article montre que c'est en analysant le discours d'Etienne et son contexte (proche et plus lointain) qu'on peut saisir la portée et le sens de ce que Luc veut faire dire à Etienne. A cette fin, on doit s'appuyer non sur l'étude des sources, mais sur celle de la rhétorique littéraire et sur le contexte. La méthode mise en œuvre permet de montrer 1) comment tous les éléments du discours visent à montrer que les auditeurs d'Etienne ont, comme leurs pères, le cœur dur, 2) comment la christologie s'agence avec le discours et 3) comment de plus profonds projets ont influencé la structuration du discours d'Etienne.

The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums*

Two ancient versions of the Hebrew Bible were translated by Jewish communities themselves: the Greek version called of the "Septuagint" and the Aramaic versions called "Targums"(¹). The

* I record here some by-products of a larger enterprise, which I provisionally call a *Dictionary of Semitic Parallels to Greek and Latin Words*. As previously I take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness, at every stage of the present study, to the meticulous comments of Prof. Saul Levin of the State University of New York in Binghamton, in time he has taken away from his own important work, *A Semitic and Indo-European Comparative Grammar*. But I can claim as my own the remaining errors.

(¹) Abbreviations: Jon = Targum Jonathan on the Prophets (ed. A. SPERBER) vols. 2 & 3; KAI = *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (DONNER-RÖLLIG); LXX = Septuagint (ed. RAHLFS, with evidence from the Göttingen edition noted when available); OGIS = *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Dittenberger); Onq = Targum Onqelos on the Law (ed. A. SPERBER) vol. 1; Tg = Targum.

Bibliography: Cooke = G. A. COOKE, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford 1903). Dalman = G. DALMAN, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinische aramäisch* (Leipzig ²1905; repr. Darmstadt 1960) esp. pp. 182-187, "Fremdwörter". Driver = G. R. DRIVER, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* [the Arsames dossier] (with Iranian notes by W. B. HENNING) (Oxford ²1957). Field = F. FIELD, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (Oxford 1875; repr. Hildesheim 1964). Gignoux = P. GIGNOUX, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series vol. I; London 1972). Jastrow = M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols. (repr. Brooklyn 1967). Jean-Hoftijzer = C.-F. JEAN-J. HOFTIJZER, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest* (Leiden 1965). Joüon = P. JOÜON, "Mots grecs de l'araméen d'Onkelos ou de l'hébreu de la Mishna qui se trouvent aussi dans les évangiles", *RSR* 22 (1932) 463-469. Kent = R. G. KENT, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (New Haven ²1953). Krauss = S. KRAUSS, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum, mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw Teil II: Wörterbuch* (Berlin 1899; repr. Hildesheim 1964). Maricq = A. MARICQ, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis" [Greek text with partial transcription of the Middle Persian

origins of the later Greek versions are cloudy: the copious biography of Aquila given by Epiphanius does not inspire complete confidence, and he has been confused with at least one other person⁽²⁾; Symmachus was called an Ebionite [Christian] (Eusebius, *Hist. Ec.* 6.17.1) though perhaps only polemically; what is called Theodotion's version of Daniel underlies the Revelation of John⁽³⁾. It is unclear whether the Peshitto Syriac Old Testament was the work of Jews, Jewish Christians, or a Gentile church, nor is even the language from which it was translated surely known. The Old Latin versions were made out of the Septuagint by Latin-speaking Christians like Tertullian. Thus the Septuagint and Targums stand by themselves as flowing from the inner life of the Jewish people.

Here I treat Targum "Onqelos" on the Law with relative completeness, while summarizing data from Targum Jonathan on the Former and Latter Prophets. Of the other complete Targums, I make little or no notice of the "Palestinian" Targum of the Law

and Parthian versions], *Syria* 35 (1958) 295-360. A. Sperber = A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 4 vols. (Leiden 1959-1973). Telegdi = S. TELEGDI, "Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique", *Journal Asiatique* 226 (1935) 177-256. Walters = P. WALTERS (formerly Katz), *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and their Emendation* (ed. D. W. GOODING) (Cambridge 1973).

(2) Eusebius, *Hist. Ec.* 5.8.10 (citing the Greek of Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* 3.21.2) makes both Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus Jewish proselytes; but Epiphanius, *de mens. et pond.* 15, PG 43.262C, makes Aquila for a while a Christian convert. The Jerusalem Talmud *Megillah* I.9(8) refers to the translation of the Law by Aquila the proselyte (תרגום אקילס הנגר התורה) into some language, presumably Greek, though the context is not fully clear. But the Babylonian Talmud *Megillah* 3a top, apparently working over the same tradition, has תרגום של תורה אונקלוס הנגר אמר "The translation of the Law, Onqelos the proselyte spoke it"; and by putting this testimony parallel to one about the translation of the Prophets by Jonathan ben Uziel implies a translation into Aramaic, i.e. our "Targum Onqelos". Thus "Onqelos" may be only a ghost-name, based on the historical Aquila, for the anonymous Targum of the Law. — It is further peculiar that Luke (Acts 18,2) interprets the Aquila (Ἀκύλας) of Rom 16,3 and 1 Cor 16,19 as a Jew of Pontus. Can Luke have written late enough to have endowed Paul's colleague with data from the life of the Hadrianic translator?

(3) Thus Rev 20,11 follows Dan 2,35 "Theodotion" against the LXX in the whole phrase καὶ τόπος οὗχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς.

in Codex Neofiti 1 of the Vatican⁽⁴⁾, the "Jerusalem" Targum "Pseudo-Jonathan" of the Law in British Museum MS Add. 27031⁽⁵⁾, and the various Targums to the Hagiographa⁽⁶⁾. I pass these by for several reasons: the limits on my time and this space; the comparatively late date of their final redaction, whatever early matter they may contain; and their marked increase in additions and paraphrasis, which often preclude any comparison with the Septuagint.

Although the great bulk of the Septuagint achieved its present form long before the same can be proved of any Targum, the two enterprises of translation were going on simultaneously for some decades, though not demonstrably in the same place. While in many respects they show independent work, certain features of the LXX and Targum over against the Hebrew prove some degree of relationship. How shall we describe that relationship? And what can we say about the relative order of the two?

In this paper I lay out, so far as I am aware for the first time, evidence for a literary relationship between the LXX (and in a few cases the later Greek versions) and the Targums based on the *foreign vocabulary* of both: (1) the Aramaic vocabulary of the LXX; (2) the rare items of Persian vocabulary in both; (3) the "common Greek-Semitic vocabulary" (mostly Semitic loan-words in Greek) in both; and (4) the Greek vocabulary of the Targums. I pass by briefly any other types of agreement between the LXX and Targum against the Hebrew because (a) they are less solid than agreement in foreign vocabulary, and (b) even where certain do not lead to any clear order of priority. My conclusions are:

(1) The LXX like the later Greek versions has considerable *Aramaic* vocabulary, in common nouns as well as in innumerable proper names, which agrees with the form of the Targum against the Hebrew; but in *every such case* that I can find the Hebrew original exhibits the *same* root as the Targum, so that any dependence of the LXX on a Targum *can nowhere be proved*. It is simply that the Greek translators, presumably Aramaic-speaking, transcribed Hebrew

(⁴) A. Díez MACHO (ed.), *Neophyti 1, Targum Palestinense ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana*, 6 vols. (Madrid 1968-1979).

(⁵) E. G. CLARKE (ed.), *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken 1984).

(⁶) A. SPERBER (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic*, IV A (Leiden 1968).

words in their equivalent vernacular Aramaic form, which was also (so far as we can tell) *independently* deposited in the Targums. In one case indeed (1.7) the LXX found the correct Aramaic equivalent for the Hebrew without the help of the Targum.

(2) Two striking agreements between the Greek and Aramaic of the same verse in introducing *Persian* vocabulary against the Hebrew conclusively prove some connection; but by the nature of the case no priority is indicated.

(3) In the "*common Greek-Semitic vocabulary*" the LXX frequently recognized the Hebrew as familiar and translated it with the Greek equivalent. But the LXX did not need the help of the Targum in so doing; for while in a majority of cases the Targum has the same root as the Hebrew, in one-third of the cases in Onqelos the Targum is quite different. In one case indeed (3C) the LXX and Targum agree against the Hebrew and so betray a literary connection; here as in (2) above no priority is provable.

(4) The *Greek loan-words of the Targum* provide the decisive evidence. In the sparse Greek loan-vocabulary of Targum Onqelos, still in ten common words plus two place-names the LXX exhibits the Greek original of the Aramaic *in the same verse* as the Targum. After making allowance for uncertain cases, we conclude that these probably represent a majority of the Greek loan-words in Onqelos. In *none* of the 12 cases is the Greek an inevitable or obvious translation of the Hebrew. Coincidence is thus ruled out. And, whereas our Targums are the final deposit of a long exegetical oral tradition, the LXX has much more the character of a fixed written text. Thus Onqelos *derives at least half its Greek loan-words from the Septuagint* and to that degree has a *literary dependence on the LXX*. We will discuss very briefly how much further that dependence might extend. Almost the same conclusion follows for Targum Jonathan except that the data-base is about twice as large.

I assume that readers have at their hand a vocalized Hebrew Bible and print only the bare Hebrew consonants. The fluctuating accuracy with which the pronunciation of Greek was reflected in Targumic Aramaic would have been much clearer if I had printed Sperber's vocalization. This was not possible, and I must assume that interested readers also have available his four volumes. (I have not been able to determine whether the MSS used by Sperber show strengthened consonants or any other phonetic signs not printed by him.)

* * *

The legendary account of the "Epistle of Aristeas" that the LXX was translated in Alexandria in the 3rd century BCE under the first Ptolemy is basically validated, at least for the Law, by a papyrus of Deut 25,1-3 of the second century BCE (Pap. Rylands 458)(⁷). Since the LXX of Exodus lacks certain duplications, e.g. Exod 36,9-34, it probably rests on an alternative recension of the Hebrew and was made before our canonical recension won the day. Likewise the LXX of the Former and Latter Prophets, with an arrangement of Jeremiah very different from the Hebrew, is likely not to be later than the second century BCE. In contrast there is general agreement among Targumic scholars that both Onkelos and Jonathan exhibit a final layer of editing in Babylon, and in their present form cannot be earlier than the third century of our era. It is true that a Rabbi Judah (2nd century CE?) refers to "our translation" (תרגום דידן "our Targum," Bab. Talm. *Qidd.* 49a) of the Law; but this can as well mean an oral as a written version. Hayward(⁸) finds the earliest citations of Targum Jonathan on Jeremiah to come from the early 4th century of our era. It is often assumed that Neh 8,8 refers to an oral Aramaic translation of the Law, though this is not fully clear from the difficult text. Thus probably even these primary Targums had a gestation period of 6-8 centuries, beginning well before Alexander and any antecedents of the LXX, but continuing long after its completion. Hence it is plausible that the LXX should have exercised at least the minimal influence on them that I suggest.

All the Rabbinic literature contains Greek loan-words (and some Latin ones, in many cases mediated through the Greek). But the extent of this vocabulary varies widely. The Rabbis of the Talmudic period had no awareness of the extent of Greek in their language nor any desire to purge it out; if anything they avoided modelling their own language on that of the Bible. Prof. Levin informs me that it was only after the Arab conquest that Saadya (882-942 CE) and his successors got the idea of writing in non-Aramaized Hebrew.

(⁷) Photo in B. M. METZGER, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (Oxford 1981) 60, also illustrating other papyri of the LXX of the Law from the first century BCE.

(⁸) R. HAYWARD, *The Targum of Jeremiah* [English translation] (The Aramaic Bible, vol. 12; Wilmington 1987) 8-12.

Hence when Greek loan-words entered Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic they normally stayed there. And since the Rabbis were to some degree in contact with Greek right down to the coming of Islam, the conclusion cannot be avoided that “les mots grecs passés dans le langage des Juifs ont constamment augmenté de nombre au cours des siècles”⁽⁹⁾. Onqelos, with the lowest proportion of Greek vocabulary, then stands at the beginning of the development. (It would be natural to assume that takeup of Greek words from a Bible translation back into Aramaic was a normal way for them to enter the language; but the present study shows that this mechanism was at work only for a small, though critically important, part of the Greek vocabulary of Rabbinic.)

The only previous author I can find to claim a literary relationship between the LXX and the Targums is Churgin⁽¹⁰⁾, who comes to the opposite conclusion from mine: namely, that the usage of the LXX is influenced by the exegetical tradition finally deposited in the Targum. But his reasoning is finespun and I find none of his examples demonstrative. Brockington⁽¹¹⁾ concludes modestly that both Targum and LXX draw from a common synagogal exegetical tradition; he points out for example that in Isaiah, both LXX and Targum Jonathan introduce the idea of salvation, but invariably *at different places*. On p. 85 he adds a brief but valuable list of exegetical agreements between LXX and the Targums against the Hebrew, which points conclusively to *some* literary relationship, though not to its direction. Thus (a) at Deut 8,3 Heb על־כִּלְמוֹצָא פִּי־יְהוָה “everything that comes out from the mouth of the LORD” both versions add “word”: LXX (whence Matt 4,4) ἐπὶ πάντι ῥήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ; Tg Onq יי קדם מן קדם על כל אפיקות מימר מן קדם יי. Again (b) at Gen 31,13 Heb אֲנִי הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל “I am the God Bethel (!)” the LXX expands ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὁφθείς σοι “I am the God that appeared to you”, and likewise Tg Onq אֲנִי אֱלֹהִים דִּאֲתַגְלִיתִי עֲלֶיךָ “I am the God that revealed myself to you”⁽¹²⁾. But I can find no crite-

⁽⁹⁾ Joŭon, 463.

⁽¹⁰⁾ P. CHURGIN, “The Targum and the Septuagint”, *AJSL* 50 (1933) 41-65.

⁽¹¹⁾ L. H. BROCKINGTON, “Septuagint and Targum”, *ZAW* 66 (1954) 80-86.

⁽¹²⁾ On the basis of this agreement between Tg and LXX, the *Biblia Stuttgartensia* implausibly wishes to add the phrase to the original Hebrew!

tion to determine whether such additions were first made in the Aramaic or the Greek.

I turn now to the criterion proposed here which *does* point to one version, the Greek, as prior: namely, the introduction of foreign vocabulary.

* * *

1. *Aramaic loan-words in the Greek versions*

In thousands of proper names the Greek shows Aramaic features, in agreement then with the Targum. So likewise in a much smaller number of common nouns; here are some of the more striking cases. Mostly the LXX transcriptions of common nouns are marked as Aramaic by a final -α (sometimes interpreted as fem. sing. or neut. plur.), together sometimes with the internal vocalism. Only our first example (1.1) shows a basic morphological change derived from the Aramaic. But in *every* case here the LXX found the same Semitic root in the Hebrew original, and only needed to substitute the familiar Aramaic equivalent. For in our last case (1.7) the LXX generated the correct Aramaic equivalent out of the Hebrew where the Targum uses a different root. Thus there is *no* demonstrable dependence of the LXX on the Targum.

1.1 γῳρας 'sojourner, proselyte': Exod 12,19 LXX γῳραῖς (better γῳραις?) for Heb בגר where Onq בגירא; Isa 14,1 LXX ὁ γῳρας for Heb הגר where Tg Jon גירין. Also some MSS of Lev 19,34b LXX (see the Göttingen ed. & Walters p. 34) have the variant γῳραι for usual προσήλυτοι while Tg Onq has the singular גירא in v. 34a (Heb גר twice). The word variously spelled was taken up into Jewish and Patristic Greek: Philo, *de confusione* 82 (Loeb ed. iv. 54); Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 122.1; Eusebius, *Hist. Ec.* 1.7.13⁽¹³⁾. Here the special Aramaic form presupposed by the Greek is unmistakable;

⁽¹³⁾ At Josephus, *BJ* 2.521 ὁ τοῦ Γῳρα Σίμων is "Simon son of the proselyte"; hence Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.12.3 *Bargiorum* accus. with confusion in his identification; also Dio Cassius 65.7.1 (Loeb ed. viii.270) Βαργιορᾶς Reimarus conj. for MS "Q" Βαρπορᾶς. Jastrow 236c cites persons named בר גירא. I wonder if Rabbinic גירא 'adulterer' is not essentially the same word, a foreigner being automatically attributed sexual irregularities; cf. Prov 2,16 etc. נכריה 'foreign woman, i.e. prostitute'.

but since this must have been the Aramaic vernacular form known to the LXX translators, no intervention of the Targum need be postulated when the LXX determined to transcribe the word literally from the Semitic. See Walters p. 33.

1.2 πάσχα 'passover,' e.g. Exod 12,11 LXX for Heb פסח where Onq פסחא; see Walters p. 169.

1.3 νάβλα 'lyre,' e.g. 1 Kgs 10,5 LXX (nom. sing.?) for Heb נבל (1 Sam 10,5) where Tg Jon נבלין plural of which the sing. would be נבלא. The word had entered Greek long before in the comic poet Philemon (Athenaeus 4.175d) in the form νάβλας nom. sing., evidently from an Aramaic source, in which form it was presumably already known to the LXX. Walters p. 171.

1.4 σάββατα 'sabbath,' e.g. Exod 16,25 LXX (probably understood as neut. plur. like Greek names of festivals) for Heb שבת, Onq שבתא. Perhaps attested before the LXX in Papyrus Cairo Zenon 59762 (3rd cent. BCE). Thereafter frequent in pagan Greek (see LSJ) and Latin *sabbata* (Horace, *Serm.* 1.9.69). Walters p. 172.

1.5 μάννα 'manna' Num 11, 6 LXX for Heb מן where Onq מנא. The Semitic word had already gone into Greek in Hippocrates, *Joints* 36 μάννην 'gum' and was correctly recognized by the LXX; Dioscorides 1.68.6 μάννα 'granule', e.g., of frankincense seems to represent the LXX form.

1.6 κιθάρα 'lyre' 1 Kgs 16,16 LXX for Heb כנור (1 Sam 16,16) where Tg Jon כנרא.

1.7 αἰσάρα 'strong drink' Lev 10,9 LXX for Heb שכר where Tg Onq quite otherwise, namely מרי. Here is a beautiful case where the LXX finds the Aramaic equivalent to the Hebrew for itself without any help from the Targum. From the LXX the word went to pagan medical Greek in Galen (LSJ); also to Luke 1,15 who cites the LXX, either Num 6,3 or Judg 13,4 (MS "A"), in either case agreeing with the Hebrew root against the Aramaic. See Walters p. 169.

2. Persian loan-words in both versions

These are naturally more common in the Targum than the LXX. A number already appear in the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra; none in the Targum must with certainty be put as late as the 3rd century CE in the final redaction of the Targums when the Jews were for the second time in contact with Persian culture. Thus Num 3,32 Onq אמרכלא 'comptrollers' is Parthian {*hmrkr*} (Gignoux

45), already attested in Aramaic of the 5th century BCE in the Ar-sames dossier as *המרכריא* (Driver 10.3). Gen 25,27 Onq *נחשירן* 'hunter' contains the same root as Parthian {*nhšyrpty*} 'huntmaster' (Sapor, *Res Gestae* 59 Maricq) where the Greek version of Sapor has ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΟΥ; but the root was known in Palestinian Aramaic, for it is one of the rare loan-words at Qumran in the *War Scroll* (1QM) 1.9 etc. *נחשיר* 'slaughter, carnage'.

2.1 *πάταχρον* 'idol', in Greek almost confined to the LXX of Isaiah: Isa 8,21 LXX codex 93 (cf. Göttingen ed.) *πάταχρα*; Isa 37,38 LXX MS "B" *πάταρχον* with inversion. Theodoretus⁽¹⁴⁾ on the latter passage in his better MSS found *πάτεχρον*. On Isa 8,21 Theodoretus⁽¹⁵⁾ records that *πάταχρα* stood in some of his MSS and adds τὸ γὰρ παταχρῆ Σύρων μὲν ἐστὶν ὄνομα, σημαίνει δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὰ εἰδωλα "For *patachrē* is a word of the Syrians, and in the Greek language it means 'idols'". The word is Iranian, already attested in Old Persian, Darius, *Behistun* IV.71 (Kent 129) {*patikarā*} 'sculptures'; in trilingual inscriptions of the Sassanid kings⁽¹⁶⁾ a 'relief' is Parthian {*ptkr*} = Greek ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΟΝ. In Parthian the word continued to be written in the same script as when it entered imperial Aramaic eight centuries earlier: *KAI* 258 (Tarsus, 5th century BCE) *פתכר זנה* "this statue"; Driver 9.1-2 *פתכר* 'sculpture', *פתכרכר* 'sculptor'. At 1 Cor 8,4 for εἰδωλον the Peshitto has *פתכרא*.

As *πάταχρον* is restricted to the LXX of Isaiah, *פתכרא* in Rabbinic is restricted to Targum Jonathan. Isa 8,21 Tg Jon has a beautiful agreement *פתכריה* 'his idols' with the LXX cited above against the Heb *ובאלהיו*. In Tg Jon the word also appears at Amos 5,26 and Zeph 1,5 where the LXX diverges from the Hebrew, but not at Isa 37,38 where the LXX has it. In both versions the word was especially motivated to avoid saying 'gods'.

Since the Targum spells the word as it appears elsewhere in Aramaic, it might seem as if we could call this an "Aramaic loan-word" in the LXX, uniquely agreeing with the Targum against the

(¹⁴) Theodoretus, *In Isa.* 11.392, III.374 ed. Guinot (Sources Chrétiennes 276).

(¹⁵) *Op. cit.* 3.716, Guinot I.316.

(¹⁶) E. HERZFELD, *Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*, 2 vols. (Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst III; Berlin 1924) 84. Only the Greek text of these inscriptions is printed at *OGIS* 432, 434.

Hebrew. But if we look just at Rabbinic, the word is no better attested there than in Greek; and the assumption that it first entered the Prophets in the Targum fails to explain its appearance at Isa 37,38 LXX where the Targum lacks it. Thus we should simply call it a very rare Persian loan-word in both Greek and Rabbinic where the LXX and Tg Jon of Isa 8,21 agree; and as such it suggests no priority either way. But since on other grounds (5 below) we conclude that Targum Jonathan used the LXX rather than vice versa, that priority is also indicated here. See Telegdi p. 253 no. 120.

2.2 $\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\eta\varsigma$ 'necklace'. Polybius 2.31.5 (cf. 2.29.8) describes the gold necklaces or "torques" of the Kelts; Plutarch, *Cimon* 9.3, says that in the fifth century BCE Greeks took such as booty from the Persians. Hence on Plutarch's testimony we must conclude that the word entered Greek during the Persian period, though unattested in contemporary writers; for it goes with the Persian words of the same ending which *are* then attested, and would be suitable for a spy-thriller as meaning "cloak and dagger": $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\eta\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\eta\varsigma$! Although unattested in early Iranian the word is surely Persian and Indo-European, cf. Sanskrit $\{m\acute{a}ny\bar{a}\}$ 'neck,' Latin *monile* 'necklace', Old High German *menni* 'torque'. At Gen 41,42 Aquila and Symmachus (Field i.59) have $\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\eta\nu$ for Heb רכר where the LXX $\kappa\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\acute{\nu}$ (the LXX itself has it at 1 Esdras 3,6). Gen 41,42 Onq has a beautiful agreement with Aquila and Symmachus in מניכא. Onqelos may as well have the word from a Greek version as directly from the Persian, for Midrashic Hebrew has a form with different spelling, *Levit. Rabbah* XII.3 (Yavneh ed. VII.133.1) מניק לצואר "a torque for the neck".

There is a possible confusion with another Iranian word meaning 'belt, girdle'. At Dan 5,7 (cf. vv. 16.29) והמונכא K (והמניכא Q) where 'torque' is clearly intended, both LXX and Theodotion have $\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\eta\varsigma$ in different constructions. But since the *h* must be taken as an integral part of the word, the Iranian original has been thought rather to be $\{*hamyan\acute{a}k\}$, a postulated derivative of Persian $\{hamy\bar{a}n\}$ 'belt' (17). The simple form is attested at Mishna *Erub.* X.15 בהמיין plural. It also occurs in a beautiful agreement between Exod 28,4 Onq והמיין for Heb אבנט 'girdle' (itself Egyptian); and Josephus,

(17) M. ELLENBOGEN, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament, Their Origin and Etymology* (London 1962) 70.

Ant. Jud. 3.156, who says that ἐμίαν is “Babylonian” for ὀβανήθ (as he transcribes the Heb); Exod 28,4 LXX just has ζώνην. Since Josephus’ *Antiquities* is in one sense a Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, here is a third agreement in a Persian word between a Greek version and the Targum against the Hebrew.

At Gen 41,42 the Greek versions are using a classical word in proper spelling which therefore it appears was previously known to them. Onqelos gives it neither in the aberrant spelling of Daniel nor the spelling of the much later *Midrash Rabbah*; thus the most likely explanation of the undeniable agreement is that Onqelos has it from the Greek. The word was omitted by Telegdi and treated by Krauss 327, 343 as if wholly a loan from Greek.

* * *

The three following entries illustrate substantially independent use of Persian words by the Targum or LXX or both.

2.3 Gen 1,11 LXX κατὰ γένος “by kind” for Heb למינֵו where Onq למינֵה. The Aramaic is a Persian loan-word also in late Biblical use (below): cf. Old Persian {-zana} ‘kind’ in {vispazanānām} (Kent p. 137) “[countries] with all kinds of men”. The Greek γένος is an Indo-European cognate of the Persian, and so a kind of equivalent (surely accidental) of the Aramaic which borrows the Persian as a loan-word. Another LXX translator at 2 Chr 16,14 LXX found γένη for Heb מִיִּם, and at Dan 3,5 (with Theodotion also) γένους for Aramaic גִּי. The Greek was directly translated into Palmyrene in the bilingual Cooke 147.i.26 גִּס = ΓΕΝΟΥΣ.

2.4 At Judg 4,18, Tg Jon has בגנכא ‘rug’, a Persian loan, for Heb בשמיכה; cf. with different meaning Parthian {gwnk} ‘kind, sort’ (as 2.3 above) Sapor, *R.G.* 17 (Gignoux 51). Here the LXX, if it had been following the Targum, might have used the Greek loanword from the same Persian καυσνάκης (since Aristophanes, cf. 2.2 above), but did not: instead the Greek versions have δέρπει (LXX “A”), ἐπιβολαίω (“B”), Theodotion σάγφ and Symmachus κοιμήτρφ (Field i.409).

2.5 Heb פֶּרֶדֶס ‘park, “paradise”’ (biblically only at Neh 2,8, Cant 4,13, Qoh 2,5) is the most prominent Iranian loan-word to the West, marginally attested in Avestan and Old Persian. Greek παράδεισος ‘hunting-park’ (since Xenophon) is used in the LXX of the Garden of Eden (Gen 2,8 etc.) as well as at Ezek 28,13, Isa 1,30. Aramaic

פְּרִיסָא appears in Tg Jon at Judg 4,5 and in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Law at Gen 14,3 etc., 21,33 as 'valley'. It illustrates the considerable independence of exegesis in the traditions of the LXX and the Targum that while each uses this highly distinctive word in several contexts there is no agreement between the two.

3. *Treatment of the common Greek-Hebrew vocabulary by LXX and Targum*

For our present purpose this vocabulary consists of words which became "Semitic loan-words in Greek"⁽¹⁸⁾ or were jointly borrowed by Greek and Hebrew from some other language. The LXX recognized many such in the Hebrew and translated them with the Greek equivalent. In a majority of cases the Targum also has the equivalent of the Hebrew, and it might be thought that the LXX was assisted by the Targum in finding the appropriate word. But this supposition is undercut by a number of cases (3B) where the LXX has the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew while the Targum takes another course. Since the words of this category are mostly inconclusive for our study I merely tabulate those which appear in the Law; for simplicity I enter the dictionary forms rather than those which actually occur in the text. But a final entry (3C) is a special case which proves a literary relation between the LXX and Onqelos in one direction or the other.

3A: *Hebrew, Onqelos and LXX all agree in common vocabulary*

| | Hebrew | Onqelos | LXX | |
|------------|--------|---------|------------|-------------------------|
| Gen 37,23 | כתנת | כיתון | χιτών | 'tunic' |
| Exod 21,28 | שור | תורא | ταῦρος | 'bull' |
| Exod 2,3 | תבה | תיבותא | θίβις | 'ark' (of Moses) |
| Gen 24,10 | גמל | גמלא | κάμηλος | 'camel' |
| Exod 30,23 | קנמון | קנמון | κιννάμωμον | 'cinnamon' |
| Exod 30,34 | לבנה | לבונתא | λίβανος | 'frankincense' |
| Exod 30,23 | מר | מורא | σμύρνη | 'myrrh' |
| Lev 21,17 | מום | מומא | μῶμος | 'fault' ⁽¹⁹⁾ |

⁽¹⁸⁾ Most are discussed by É. MASSON, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* (Études et Commentaires LXVII; Paris 1967).

⁽¹⁹⁾ It is not certain that the Greek word (since Homer) is related to the Semitic, but the LXX evidently regarded it as such.

| | | | | |
|------------|-------|---------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Gen 11,3 | לבנה | לבנתא | πλίνθος ⁽²⁰⁾ | 'brick' |
| Gen 42,25 | שק | סקא | σάκκος | 'sack' |
| Exod 30,34 | חלבנה | חלבינתא | χαλβάνη | 'galbanum' |
| Num 1,50 | משכן | משכנא | σκηνή | 'tent' ⁽²¹⁾ |

3B: *LXX agrees with the Hebrew against the Targum*

| | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| Exod 28,18-20 | ישפה | ? | ἵασπις | 'jasper' |
| Gen 14,18 | יין | (חמר) | οἶνος | 'wine' |
| Gen 22,24 | פילגש | (לחינתא) | παλλακή | 'concubine' |
| Exod 24,10 | ספיר | — | σάπφειρος | 'sapphire' |
| Exod 30,24 | שקל | (סלעי) | σίκλος | 'shekel' |
| Gen 38,17 | ערבון | (משכונא) | ἄρραβών | 'pledge' |

3C: *LXX agrees with Targum Onqelos against the Hebrew*

βύσσος 'byssos, fine linen' (adj. βύσσινος since Aeschylus); late Bib Heb בור, but early Phoenician בך *KAI* 24.13 (Kilamuwa, 825 BCE); word of probable Egyptian origin. At Gen 41,42 LXX στολήν βυσσίνην for Heb בגדי-שש where Tg Onq agrees with the LXX in לבושין רבון. Since the word was well known in both Greek and Aramaic the literary dependence could have been in either direction as with the Persian loan-words 2.1 and 2.2. Again the data in 4.1 below suggest that the primary dependence is of the Targum on the LXX. It is remarkable that this is the same verse where (2.2 above) Aquila and Symmachus agree with Onqelos against the Hebrew in the Persian μανιάκης. In passages of exotic vocabulary one loan-word attracts another: foreign clothing (here at Gen 41,42); catalogues of spices (Exod 30,23-24.34 in the table above); the list of jewels (Exod 28,18-20 above and in (4) below).

4. *Greek loan-words in Onqelos*

This is the category of parallels which establishes my thesis. I group under several headings the Greek loan-words of Onqelos: they are gathered in Dalman pp. 183-187, and can be located (along with

⁽²⁰⁾ See my discussion, "Peace Symbolism in Ancient Military Vocabulary", *VT* 21 (1971) 1-23, esp. 20-23.

⁽²¹⁾ See my discussion, "Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary", *JSS* 13 (1968) 163-191, esp. 182-183. The Greek word reflects the specifically Aramaic form of the Semitic.

the loan-words in all the other Targums) in the Greek index to Krauss (words marked "g"). Although Krauss' work stands in need of revision, and Daniel Sperber has done prolegomena to that task⁽²²⁾, there has been an unjustified suppression of it in the scholarly literature. Thus the second English edition⁽²³⁾ of Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments* normally records it whenever a Greek word exists as a loan-word in Aramaic. But the only place from which in most cases Bauer, and his American translators, could have gotten that information—namely, Krauss' dictionary—does not appear in Bauer's bibliography⁽²⁴⁾!

4.1 *Greek common words in Onqelos agreeing with the LXX against the Hebrew*

4.101 κράσπεδον 'hem, skirt' since Theocritus; attested earlier in Xenophon in derived sense 'wing of an army'. At Num 15,38-39 LXX *ter* for Heb צִיָּה 'fringe'; and so Onq כְּרוֹסְפִידִין etc. The Rabbinic word is confined to Onq here and at Deut 22,12, where it translates Heb גִּרְלִיץ; the LXX has στρεπτά but κράσπέδων later in the verse. (Here the shift of Hebrew vocabulary for the same object as in Numbers has disrupted the exact equivalence of LXX and Onq.) κράσπεδον is rare elsewhere in the LXX and other Greek versions, mostly corresponding in Tg Jon to כְּנָפֵא. In the NT in the ritual sense of the Torah at Matt 23,5; also, Jesus' garment has a κράσπεδον at Matt 9,20 etc., either its physical 'hem' or a ritual 'fringe' (if we assume him to have maintained this observance). Krauss 297. Joüon 465 sees the agreement but does not draw all our conclusions from it.

⁽²²⁾ D. SPERBER, *Essays on Greek and Latin in the Mishna, Talmud and Midrashic Literature* (Jerusalem 1982).

⁽²³⁾ W. F. ARNDT-F. W. GINGRICH-F. W. DANKER, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago ²1979).

⁽²⁴⁾ The regrettable explanation seems to be that Bauer's third edition of 1937 (Berlin), being completed during the attack of "German Christianity" on the Barmen Declaration of 1934, did not deem it prudent to document the extent to which the Rabbinic literature verifies the currency of the New Testament vocabulary in Palestine. Likewise Bauer's expanded fourth edition of 1949-1952 must have been nearing completion by the war's end, and lay under the same constraint. But that explanation is no reason why English editions of the indispensable dictionary should conceal Samuel Krauss' great labors.

4.102 στολή 'clothing' since Tragedy; Gen 45,22 LXX στολάς for Heb מלת שמת "changes of clothing" where Onq (var. מלשס) מלשס מלשס. The Aramaic word also in Tg Jon 2 Kgs 5,5, Judg 14,12 etc. where LXX likewise στολάς. The Greek also at Mark 12,38, where the Peshitto likewise has מלשס (but the Old Syriac מלשס, evidently finding ἐν στοαῖς "in porticos" in Mark, a reading elsewhere unattested). Krauss 120.

4.103 βάσις 'pedestal', in this sense Hellenistic; Exod 30,18 LXX βάσιν for Heb כנו where Onq כנס. The Aramaic is frequent in Tg Jon, but nowhere that the LXX has βάσις. The word made its way because it was associated with prestigious Greek sculpture and architecture. Krauss 161; Dalman 186.

4.104 γλύφω 'engrave' since Herodotus; Indo-European, cognate with English *cleave*. Exod 28,9-11 LXX γλύψεις... γλύμμα... δια-γλύψεις for forms of פתח in Heb; so Onq מלשס תגלח דעוק מלשס... מלשס. (The Aram. also in Exod 39,6 Onq where LXX is lacking.) Ezek 41,25 Tg Jon מלשס where LXX γλυφή, and so elsewhere in Tg Jon. The Greek had entered Aramaic in the first century CE at Hatra as the verb מלשס (*KAI* 238.1) and the noun מלשס 'engraver' (*KAI* 237.3); also Palmyrene (Jean-Hoftijzer 50-51). Sensational but problematical is a broken ostrakon from Elephantine, thought to be of the 5th century BCE, where *KAI* 271 v. 9 end reads מלשס. This reading, if correct, shows remarkably early influence of Greek sculpture; but neither the reading nor the date seems absolutely certain. Krauss 178, Dalman 183.

4.105 νόμος 'law' since Hesiod. Lev 18,3 LXX νομίμοις for Heb מוסדות where Onq מוסדות. νόμος is frequent in LXX; מוס also at Lev 20,23 Onq and several times in Tg Jon, but nowhere that LXX has νόμος. מוס is surprisingly frequent in Rabbinic⁽²⁵⁾. νόμος at John 1,17 where Syriac מוס. Palmyrene מוס Cooke 147.i.3 where the Greek version NOMIMOY. Thus a pan-Aramaic loan-word. Krauss 359.

4.106 τάξις 'array' since Herodotus. Num 1,52 LXX τάξει for Heb מחנה 'camp'; related word Num 2,18 LXX etc. τάγμα for Heb דגל where Onq טקס (= τάξις). The Targum develops a verb Exod 14,6 Onq (cf. Num 2,3) וטקס where LXX not comparable. The

⁽²⁵⁾ D. SPERBER, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Bar-Ilan 1984).

noun is frequent in Tg Jon, e.g. Ezek 43,10 Jon טקוסייה where LXX διάταξιν. 1 Cor 14,40 κατὰ τάξιν where Peshitto ܐܒܬܬܬܐܬܐ. Palmyrene ܬܗܓ (= τάγμα) Cooke 126.3 in a bilingual where however the Greek ΣΥΝΤΕ[ΛΕΙΑ]. Pan-Aramaic loan-word in 2 forms. Krauss 267, Dalman 183.

4.107 χαράκωμα 'palisade' since Xenophon, later form χαράκωσις (LSJ). Deut 20,20 LXX χαράκωσιν where Onq כרקומין (= χαράκωμα). Similarly Ezek 26,8 one MS of LXX has χαράκωμα, Theodotion χαράκωσις (Field ii.838), Tg Jon כרקום; Jer 52,4 Symmachus χαράκωμα (Field ii.736) where Tg Jon כרקום. Krauss 300.

4.108 κέδρος 'cedar' since Homer. According to Gen 6,14 LXX Noah's ark was of ξύλων τετραγώνων "squared wood" for Heb עציגפר "gopher" wood⁽²⁶⁾, but one of the other versions (uncertain which, Field i.23) ἐκ ξύλων κεδρίνων; also Procopius *ad loc.* (Migne PG 87.i.273A) ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων ἢ κεδρίνων "out of unrotting or cedar planks". These variants are in agreement with Gen 6,14 Onq וקדרוס which also has Noah's ark of cedar. The Aramaic is *not elsewhere* in Rabbinic, which suggests strongly a nonce-formation from a Greek version or interpretation; קתרס = Latin *citrus* is rare. Krauss 500⁽²⁷⁾.

4.109 βήρυλλος 'beryl' Strabo 16.40.20. At Exod 28,20 LXX jewel no. 11 is βηρύλλιον for Heb שם; Onq likewise for no. 11 has בורלא. Prof. Levin feels that the discrepant vocalization argues against direct borrowing; but surely its appearance here is due to the LXX. Onq elsewhere has בורלא for Heb שם where the LXX differently. The words also appear in the LXX & Tg Jon of Ezek 28,13, but both lists in comparison with the Heb are in disarray. Krauss 145.

4.110 σμάραγδος 'emerald' or some green stone, since Herodotus. Exod 28,17 LXX for jewel no. 3 has σμάραγδος, probably a correct rendering of Heb בריקת (both for etymology and meaning) where Onq has ברקן. So far this is a further instance of "common Hebrew-Greek vocabulary" (3A above); but Exod 28,18 Onq for je-

(26) Heb גפר is perhaps cognate with Mediterranean κυπάρισσος and *cupressus*, 'cypress'.

(27) 3 Kgs 15,13 LXX κέδρων and John 18,1 variant τῶν κέδρων (both so accented) are error or fancy for Κεδρών = קדרון 'the wadi Qidron, "Shady", as if it were Greek "wadi of the cedars".

wel no. 4 has אומרגרין, transliterating the Greek variant ζμάραδος with a prothetic 'a- since Aramaic could not deal with the initial consonant cluster. Krauss 28.

4.2 Greek common nouns in Onqelos where LXX otherwise

This short list covers the certain Greek loan-words in Onq where another source than the LXX must be sought.

4.21 ἀήρ 'air'. Deut 4,17 Onq has באויר "in the air" with nothing comparable in the LXX or Heb; frequent in Rabbinic but not Tg Jon. ἀήρ is rare in the LXX, e.g. 2 Kgs 22,12. Krauss 17.

4.22 ἔσχαρτης 'bread baked over a hearth', Hellenistic word, e.g. Josephus *AJ* 7.86, 2 Kgs 6,19 LXX. Exod 16,31 Onq באסקריטון for Heb כצפיתח 'wafers'; LXX ἐγκρίς 'cake of oil and honey' with a vague phonetic similarity which might have suggested the Targumic. The Aramaic word is occasional in Rabbinic but not in Tg Jon. Krauss 97.

4.23 ἰδιώτης 'private person' since Herodotus, Prov 6,8 LXX in paraphrase. Gen 28,17 Onq הדיש where the Greek versions are not comparable; also in Tg Jon, e.g. 1 Sam 18,23, but LXX nowhere parallel. Krauss 220.

4.24 πόρπη 'brooch'; Homeric, rare thereafter, but occasional in LXX, 1 Macc 10,89 etc. Exod 26,6 (also 35,11; 39,33) Onq פורפין for Heb קרסי, LXX κρίκους. Not elsewhere in Rabbinic except that the verb פרה 'clasp, fasten with a brooch' (Krauss 494) seems derived from the noun. Krauss 435.

4.25 σπόγγος 'sponge' frequent since Homer, somehow cognate with Latin *fungus* 'mushroom'. Exod 29,23 Onq ואספוג 'sponge-cake' (a meaning unattested in Greek) for Heb ריקק where LXX perhaps λάγανον. Frequent in Rabbinic in the unprefix form ספוג, e.g. *Avoth* V: 15, with derived verb ספג 'wipe' *ibid.* and in many forms elsewhere.

4.26 ψακτήρ 'wine-cooler' since Plato; 2 Esdras 1,9 LXX for Heb אגרסלי 'vessels'. (This Heb word perhaps from Hittite {*kurtal*} 'container', the likely source also of κάρταλλος 'basket', a word mostly of the LXX, e.g. Deut 26,2, later borrowed as Rabbinic קרטלא, Krauss 567.) Exod 27,3 Onq פסכתידתיה for Heb סרתיו 'pot' where LXX diverges, Vg *lebetas*. Krauss 472.

4.27 μαγίς 'kneading-trough, round pan' since Comedy; Judg 7,13 LXX in the sense 'kneaded cake' for Heb גלול. Exod 25,29 Onq מגיסוהי for Heb קערתיו 'plates' where LXX τρυβλία. Similarly

Num 4,7; 7,84 Onq; also Ezek 13,19 Tg Jon in the other Greek sense 'cake'. Krauss 321.

4.3 *Doubtful Greek loan-words in Onqelos*

Krauss and Dalman correctly preferred to err on the side of inclusiveness. Thus their entries always need to be scrutinized; much of this work has already been done by Immanuel Löw in his notes at the end of Krauss' articles. Targum Onqelos in particular has a remarkable number of words, unique or nearly so, whose claim to Greek status has been advanced but is questionable. Eliminating them reduces further its Hellenic appearance but emphasizes its debt to the LXX.

4.301 Gen 16,7 Onq חגרא for Heb שור 'Shur', which Krauss 253 thinks a variant of חקרא = ἄκρα 'citadel' (5.101 below), seems just another name for the place; see Jastrow i.425.

4.302 Lev 3,4.15 Onq גיססא for Heb הכסלים 'loins' is just another spelling of the word גיסא 'side' (Jastrow i.240) and has nothing to do with γεισων 'cornice' (since Theophrastus, also at 3 Kgs 7,46 LXX). See Krauss & Löw 172.

4.303 Deut 22,8 Onq תיקא for Heb מעקה 'parapet' may be just a variant spelling of an unattested *תיעקא from the same root. (But Prof. Levin thinks the dropping of the *y* improbable.) In any case it surely has nothing to do with תיק = θήκη 'casing, sheath' (Mishna etc.). Krauss 588.

4.304 Gen 44,2 Onq גביע for Heb 'cup' has no certain Semitic connection, but is surely not related (contra Krauss 289 and Jastrow 642) to κάλυξ 'calyx' of flower, never used in Greek to mean 'cup'. If anything it is connected with LXX here κόνδυ which is apparently from Akkadian {*kandu*} 'cup'.

4.305 Exod 36,6 Onq קול for Heb 'voice' probably echoes LXX ἀρχαγγελος in a further illustration of our thesis. However its true etymology is problematical. Dan 3,4 LXX & Theodotion ἡραγγελος 'herald' translates the Aram. כרווא more or less both by sound and meaning, but it is not clear that כרווא is a Greek loan-word. However, they came to be considered fixed equivalents; thus Matt 3,1 משרטסוס appears in the Peshitto as ומכרו. (Nabataean כרווא [Jean-Hoftijzer 126] is of uncertain meaning.) Is there a Persian word behind כרווא? See Krauss 296.

4.306 Gen 49,11 Onq מילא *bis* with variant מילת is apparently for Heb. סומה 'vesture' (itself of uncertain status). In the latter form

the Aramaic is frequent in Rabbinic, and Krauss 335 derives it from *μηλωτή* 'wool' (appearing in the LXX at 3 Kgs 19,13 etc., but never translating it). But at Ezek 27,18 Tg Jon *ועמר מילת* for Heb. *ועמר צחר* "and white wool" must surely rather represent the LXX *ἐργα ἐκ Μιλήτου* "wool from Miletus" (where the Lucianic recension of the LXX has *στίλβοντα* 'shining'). Thus it is likely that Aram. *מילת* is the original form and means 'Milesian [wool]'. In that case the LXX and Tg Jon of Ezek 27,18 agree against the Hebrew in the proper name 'Miletus' as in the cases cited at 5.113-114 below, although as there and at 4.41 the direction of influence is uncertain.

4.307 In Gen 37,23 Onq *סיפר* 'your sword', Krauss 382 takes *סיפא* as formed from *ξίφος* 'sword' since Homer. But *סיפא* is a good Semitic word: Syriac *סיפא* for *μάχαιρα* at Matt 26,52; Arabic {*sayf(un)*} (not Qur'ānic); and perhaps at *RÉS* 1301.6; it is probably related to Egyptian {*sf.t*}⁽²⁸⁾. Even if the Egyptian is the source of *ξίφος* (a doubtful hypothesis), *סיפא* is no Greek loan-word.

4.308 Gen 25,25 Onq *דסער ככלן* for Heb *כאדרת שער* "as a mantle of hair". Here *ככלן* is nearly unique; unless the vocalization is wrong, the first *k* cannot be a prefix as in the Hebrew but must be part of the word. Krauss 287 makes two suggestions, neither at all plausible: *χλαῖνα* 'mantle' (taking the first *k* as a prefix); and **κακ-λάς* 'round woman's garment' (taking the first *k* as part of the word)—but this is only attested in the Latin of Propertius 4.7.40 *cyclade*.

4.309 Gen 15,2 Onq *בר פרנסא* "son of the manager" for Heb *בר־משק* of uncertain meaning. Rabbinic *פרנס* 'manager' is thought by Dalman 183 to be borrowed from *πρόνοος* 'eager', but neither in form nor meaning is this at all plausible. Is there a Persian word underlying it?

4.310 Exod 28,20 Onq *כרום* is jewel no. 10 for Heb *תרשיש*. Krauss 50, 296 thinks this Greek *χρῶμα* 'color', but it is nowhere attested as a jewel-name.

4.311 Exod 28,19 Onq *קנכירי* is jewel no. 7 for Heb *לשם*. Krauss 554 proposes a Greek **ἐγγκρινον*, which is however unattested ex-

⁽²⁸⁾ A. ERMAN-H. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Berlin 1951) III.442.

cept for Latin *cenchros* Pliny 37.57, *cenchritis* 37.73. Still this is the best of the four jewel-names 4.310-4.313.

4.312 Exod 28,19 Onq טרקיא is jewel no. 8 for Heb שבו; Krauss 278 doubtfully compares ἀνθράκιον (the LXX has ἄνθραξ for jewel no. 4), but this is not very close.

4.313 Exod 28,20 Onq פנתירי is jewel no. 12 for Heb ישפה 'jasper' (3B above). This certainly looks Greek, and Dalman 187 proposed *πανθήριον, but this is unattested as a jewel-name or otherwise.

4.4 Greek proper names in Onqelos

The first two show a certain literary relationship between LXX and Onq, although by itself the first does not indicate a clear direction of influence.

4.4A LXX and Onq agree against the Hebrew

4.41 Deut 2,23 LXX Καππάδοκες 'Cappadocians' for Heb כפתרים 'men of "Caphtor"', where Onq קפוטקאי. Onq has the same at Gen 10,14 where LXX differs. Tg Jon shows the same agreement with the LXX at Amos 9,7, and with Aquila and Theodotion at Jer 47(29),4. Krauss 558.

4.42 Num 13,22 LXX Τάνις 'Tanis' of Egypt for Heb צען agrees with Onq טאניס; here the Greek ending in Onq proves it a loanword. Same equivalence at Isa 19,11 and elsewhere in Tg Jon. Krauss 253.

4.4B Onq introduces a Greek place-name lacking from the LXX

4.43 Gen 8,4 Onq קרדו for Heb אררט must be the 'Kurds' but in an indigenous (Akkadian?) form rather than Καρδοῦχοι (Xenophon, *Anab.* 4.1.8) or Γορδουαῖοι (Strabo 16.1.24); the LXX has Ἀραράτ; Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion Ἀρμενία. Krauss 563.

4.44 Num 24,44 Onq מרומאי "from the Romans" for Heb כתים 'men of Kition'; "Rome" is never used in a haggadic manner in the LXX nor elsewhere in Onqelos. Krauss 577.

4.45 Deut 3,4 Onq etc. טרכנא (i.e. Τράχων) for Heb אריג where LXX Ἀργεῖ. Krauss 275.

4.46 Gen 10,17 Onq אנתוסאי (probably deformation of Ὀρθωσία) for Heb הסיני, LXX Ἀσενναῖον. Krauss 135.

4.47 Deut 3,14 Onq אפיקורוס is the Palestinian placename Ἐπίκαιρος (attested Ptolemy 5.15.6) for Heb מעכתי. Without the Targum we would have taken Ptolemy's text to be an error in uncials for Μαχαίρους 'Machaerus' at nearly the same location.

5. Greek loan-words in Targum Jonathan

Here I briefly summarize a considerably larger body of materials than in Onqelos, just omitting rather than discussing a number of doubtful cases.

5.1 LXX and Targum Jonathan agree against the Hebrew

Four of the agreements in common nouns we discussed under Onqelos (4.102, 104, 106, 107) are shared with Targum Jonathan; also the place-names Cappadocia (4.41) and Tanis (4.42), together perhaps with Miletus (4.306). Here is a further list from Tg Jon of the same character.

5.101 2 Kgs 5,9 LXX ἄκρας ‘citadel’ for Heb (2 Sam 5,9) המלוא where Tg Jon has בחקרא for a different word but reflecting the LXX usage. Contrast 4.301 above. Krauss 252.

5.102 4 Kgs 5,17 LXX ζεύγους ‘pair’ for Heb (2 Kgs 5,17) צמד where Tg Jon חוג. Common in Rabbinic for ‘marriage’, and so Heb 13,4 Peshitto חוגא for γάμος; Arabic {zawj(un)} (Qur’ān 2.230) ‘husband’. Krauss 240-242.

5.103 1 Kgs 17,7 Symmachus θυσέον ‘shield’ for Heb (1 Sam 17,7) צנה where Tg Jon תריסא. Krauss 593.

5.104 Isa 5,12 LXX κιθάρας ‘lyre’ for Heb כנור where Tg Jon קתרוס though not on the same word. Already the Aramaic is a Greek loan-word in Dan 3,5 קתרוס (Q קתרוס) where LXX & Theodotion κιθάρας. Krauss 573.

5.105 Judg 6,38 LXX (both recensions) λακάνη ‘dish’ for Heb פסל where Tg Jon לקנא. The Greek, since Aristophanes, is probably from Akkadian {lahannu} ‘bottle’; but the Targumic spelling shows the Aramaic a loan-word from Greek, as at John 13,5 Old Syriac לקנא for νιπτῆρα. Krauss 319.

5.106 Isa 20,6 LXX ἐν τῇ νήσῳ “in the island” for Heb האי where Tg Jon גיסא. Krauss 362.

5.107 1 Kgs 24,8 LXX ἐπείσεν ‘he persuaded’ for Heb (1 Sam 24,8) וישע where Tg Jon ופיס. Here is a clear illustration how this bizarre but common Rabbinic verb was formed out of Greek. Krauss 429, 469.

5.108 Jer 43(36),23 Symmachus (& MS “Q” of the LXX) τῇ σμίλῃ ‘razor’ for Heb תער where Tg Jon באומיל with prefixed ‘a-. Krauss 28.

5.109 3 Kgs 10,22 LXX (Origen’s recension) ταώνων ‘peacocks’ for Heb (1 Kgs 10,22) תכיים (meaning uncertain) where Tg Jon

וטוסי —an Aramaic plural of the Greek nom. sing. ταῶς. Krauss 257.

5.110 Jer 6,1 LXX σημείον for Heb מִשָּׂא where Tg Jon סימוןא. Krauss 386.

5.111 Ezek 9,11 Symmachus (Field ii.792) πινακίδα 'tablet' diminutive, where Tg Jon has פִּינְקִסִּיה, i.e. the nom. sing. πίναξ with suffixes. Krauss 466.

5.112 Amos 6,6 as cited by Justin, *Dial.* 22.5 ἐν φιάλαις "in goblets" for Heb בַּמִּזְרִיק where Tg Jon בפילון. Krauss 443.

5.113 4 Kgs 16,9 LXX (Origen's recension) Κυρήνηνδε "to Cyrene" (cf. Vulg. *Cyrenen*) for Heb (2 Kgs 16,9) קִידָה where Tg Jon קיריני = Κυρήνη. Krauss 540.

5.114 Jer 2,16 LXX Μέμφεως 'Egyptian Memphis' for Heb. מִי where Tg Jon מפִּיס, retaining the Greek ending and showing contraction of μφ into pp. Krauss 347.

5.2 Common Greek loan-words in Tg Jon where LXX otherwise

Here I simply tabulate the instances and omit doubtful cases.

| | Tg Jon | Presumed Greek | | Krauss p. |
|------------------|----------|----------------|--------------------|-----------|
| Judg 16,13 etc. | אכסן | ἄξων | 'axle' | 48 |
| Josh 15,15 etc. | ארכי | ἀρχεῖον | 'archive' | 130 |
| 2 Kgs 5,5 | דינר | dēnarius | 'denarius' | 207 |
| Judg 3,23 | אכסדרא | ἐξέδρα | 'hall' | 44 |
| 1 Kgs 5,32 etc. | ארגובלא | ἐργολάβος | 'contractor' | 126 |
| Judg 5,14 etc. | קלמס | κάλαμος | 'reed, pen' | 506 |
| 2 Kgs 10,22 etc. | קמטרא | κάμπτρα | 'chest' | 550 |
| 2 Sam 16,22 | קנופא | κωνωπεῖον | 'canopy' | 532 |
| Ezek 30,9 | לגיונא | legio | 'legion' | 304 |
| Judg 5,11 | ליסטִיס | ληστής | 'bandit' | 315 |
| 1 Kgs 12,11.14 | מרגניתא | μάραгна | 'whip' | 351 |
| Ezek 27,16 | מרגלא | μαργαρίτης | 'pearl' | 350 |
| 1 Kgs 7,50 | מגלס | μοχλός | 'bolt' | 324 |
| Josh 2,1 | פנדיקיתא | (πάνδοκος) | 'female innkeeper' | 429 |
| Ezek 23,40 | פלטור | πωλητήριον | 'market' | 425 |
| Isa 11,15 | סנדל | σάνδαλον | 'sandal' | 399 |
| 1 Sam 13,3 | אסטרטיג | στρατηγός | 'general' | 83 |
| 1 Kgs 10,15 | סמכותא | σύμμαχος | 'ally' | 375 |
| Ezek 4,2 etc. | אפרודון | φρουρίον | 'guard' | 114 |

* * *

In summary: since the LXX is full of Aramaic forms of words, and the Targums are full of Greek loan-words, it might seem as if the two versions stood in a symmetrically reciprocal relationship. But the two situations are not parallel. Almost everywhere that the LXX appears to agree with the Targum in an Aramaic form of a Semitic word, the LXX is simply transforming the Hebrew word into the equivalent which the translator knew, namely the Aramaic. On the other hand, more than half the sure Greek loan-words in both Targum Onqelos and Jonathan agree with the LXX in the same passage. Thus more than half the time, the appearance of a Greek loan-word in the Targum is the result of prior Greek exegetical activity which is recorded in the LXX (or occasionally a later version). How far does this dependence of the Targums on the Greek versions extend? It would be valuable to proceed beyond individual words to phrases in which the LXX and Targum agree against the Hebrew, whether by way of addition or interpretation. A more refined method or criterion might indicate whether the matter first appeared in Greek or Hebrew. On the basis of our loan-word-study here, the initial presumption would be that again the Greek interpretation was prior to the Aramaic.

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SOMMAIRE

L'auteur propose de voir dans la LXX (et dans quelques cas une autre version grecque de la Bible hébraïque) une des sources littéraires du Targum Onqelos de la Loi et du Targum Jonathan des Prophètes. Comme principale preuve, il avance qu'au moins la moitié des emprunts au grec des Targums apparaissent dans les versets correspondants de la LXX et que le Targum les a évidemment tirés de cette source. Deux emprunts au persan prouvent également l'existence d'une relation littéraire, sans rien dire pour autant sur sa direction. D'autre part, les formes et les mots araméens de la LXX peuvent en tout état de cause s'expliquer à partir de l'hébreu et il n'est pas nécessaire de recourir à la médiation du Targum.

ANIMADVERSIONES

La question synoptique demande-t-elle une réponse compliquée?

La solution de l'énigme synoptique que j'ai proposée il y a quelques années⁽¹⁾ est passablement complexe. En effet, l'hypothèse des Deux Sources m'est apparue trop peu attentive aux faits littéraires, et j'ai dû faire appel à une documentation multiple. Mais voici qu'à son tour ma théorie est jugée trop simplificatrice par M.-E. Boismard⁽²⁾, qui m'invite à faire un pas dans sa direction en compliquant encore un peu plus mon schéma.

L'exemple qui lui paraît le plus probant pour démontrer l'insuffisance de mon analyse est la courte notice généralement intitulée: «Jugement d'Hérode sur Jésus» (Mt 14,1-2; Mc 6,14-16; Lc 9,7-9). Il me semble donc utile de présenter ma propre reconstitution des sources de cette péripécie, pour que ceux qui s'intéressent à la préhistoire des évangiles aient entre les mains toutes les pièces du dossier.

* * *

Si l'hypothèse des Deux Sources était pleinement satisfaisante, ni Boismard ni moi n'aurions eu besoin de faire une recherche aussi ardue. Mais tel n'est pas le cas. C'est ce qu'il importe tout d'abord de montrer.

La première observation que l'on peut faire sur cet épisode, c'est que le texte de Mc est redondant. Mc nous apprend d'abord, en accord avec le récit de Lc, que des gens anonymes diffusent une rumeur selon laquelle Jésus serait Jean-Baptiste revenu à la vie, ou bien Elie, ou bien l'un des prophètes (Mc 6,14-15). Il nous dit ensuite, en accord avec le récit de Mt, qu'Hérode lui-même se fait le propagandiste de cette rumeur, et s'imaginer que Jean est ressuscité des morts (Mc 6,16).

Si le texte de Mc est composite, c'est parce qu'il a été rédigé en deux temps. Littérairement, ce remaniement est évident: en effet, Mc 6,14b-15 se

⁽¹⁾ P. ROLLAND, «Les prédécesseurs de Marc. Les sources présynoptiques de Mc 2,18-22 et parallèles», *RB* 89 (1982) 370-405; Id., «Marc, première harmonie évangélique?», *RB* 90 (1983) 23-79; Id., «Les évangiles des premières communautés chrétiennes», *RB* 90 (1983) 161-201; Id., *Les premiers évangiles, un nouveau regard sur le problème synoptique* (Paris 1984); Id., «L'arrière-fond sémitique des évangiles synoptiques», *ETL* 60 (1984) 358-362; Id., «Jésus connaissait leurs pensées», *ETL* 62 (1986) 118-121; Id., «Synoptique, Question», *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible* (Maredsous 1987) 1227-1231.

⁽²⁾ M.-E. BOISMARD, *RB* 95 (1988) 97-101.

présente comme une parenthèse insérée entre 6,14a et 6,16, où l'on observe le phénomène classique de la « reprise » (Wiederaufnahme)⁽³⁾. Voici comment le texte de Mc doit être traduit et ponctué :

Et le roi *Hérode entendit*
 (car son nom était devenu célèbre,
 et l'on disait que Jean le Baptisant
 a été réveillé d'entre les morts,
 et pour cela les puissances opèrent en lui;
 mais d'autres disaient qu'il est Elie;
 mais d'autres disaient qu'il est un prophète
 comme l'un des prophètes).
 Or *Hérode, ayant entendu*, disait:
 «Celui que moi j'ai décapité, Jean,
 celui-ci s'est réveillé».

Il est clair que ce texte n'est pas d'une seule venue: il comporte un récit de base, où il est question de l'opinion d'Hérode, récit surchargé par une parenthèse dont le contenu est attesté par ailleurs en Mc 8,28 et parallèles. On observe exactement le même phénomène de surcharge avec Wiederaufnahme en Mc 7,1-5, où le récit de base de Mt 15,1-2 est complété par une parenthèse dans laquelle Mc explique à l'intention de ses lecteurs pagano-chrétiens quelles sont les coutumes des Juifs.

Il serait vraiment paradoxal, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, de prétendre que Mt dépend littérairement du texte actuel de Mc, et qu'il aurait reconstitué artificiellement l'état primitif de la tradition évangélique, en éliminant les surcharges postérieures. D'autant plus que, dans le cas de notre péricope, la formulation matthéenne se révèle doublement archaïque: d'une part, le titre de «tétrarque» donné à Hérode manifeste une meilleure connaissance des réalités politiques palestiniennes au temps du Christ que le titre banal de «roi» qui se lit chez Mc, ainsi qu'en Mt 14,9; d'autre part, la formulation *èkousen tèn akoèn* (Mt 14,1) est un excellent sémitisme, attesté par exemple en 1 Sam 4,19; 2 R 19,7; Is 37,7; Jr 49,14.23; Ab 1. Mt reflète donc mieux que Mc la tradition orale palestinienne.

Bien que cela soit moins évident, je ne pense pas non plus que le récit de Lc puisse être une réécriture du texte actuel de Mc. Un premier argument est l'accord de Lc avec Mt sur le titre archaïque de «tétrarque»⁽⁴⁾. Deuxièmement, on peut observer que, si Mc 6,14b-15 est un doublet de Mc 8,28, l'incise «et pour cela les puissances opèrent en lui» doit être une addition secondaire par rapport au texte primitif, dont Lc est par conséquent un témoin plus fidèle. Enfin, il serait étrange que Lc, historien consciencieux, ait

(3) Cf. M.-E. BOISMARD-A. LAMOUILLE, *La vie des évangiles, initiation à la critique des textes* (Paris 1980) 16-19.

(4) Les accords de Mt et de Lc contre Mc sont nombreux dans cette péricope, mais ils n'ont pas tous un aussi grand poids. Voir F. NEIRYNCK, *The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark* (Leuven 1974) 110-111. On relèvera l'absence étrange de complément au verbe *èkousen* chez Mc, et le verbe *ègègertai* au lieu de *ègerthè* chez Mt-Lc.

volontairement trompé ses lecteurs, s'il avait transformé en simple perplexité («qui est donc celui-ci?») la ferme conviction dont témoigne le texte actuel de Mc («celui-ci fut réveillé»).

Donc, à moins de considérer la théorie des Deux Sources comme un dogme sacré, on doit tirer de ces observations la conclusion suivante: Mt et Lc sont les représentants de deux traditions archaïques que Mc a fusionnées, et non de simples paraphrases du Mc actuel.

* * *

Cependant, je n'imagine pas, comme les partisans de la théorie de Griesbach, que Mc s'est contenté d'harmoniser le Mt et le Lc actuels. Il est à mes yeux certain que Mt et Lc ont exercé leur activité rédactionnelle par rapport à des textes qui les ont précédés.

Pour Mt, cela ressort de la présence de l'expression *en ekeinôi tōi kairōi*, qui est matthéenne (Mt 11,25; 12,1; 14,1; 18,1; 26,55), et qui s'explique facilement par le déplacement dans un autre contexte de la mission des Douze. On doit aussi attribuer probablement à la rédaction de Mt l'identification des interlocuteurs d'Hérode (*tois paisin autou*), qui n'a aucun écho ni chez Mc ni chez Lc, et ne doit donc pas appartenir à la tradition primitive. On est donc amené à reconstituer ainsi la notice prématthéenne:

Or Hérode le tétrarque entendit la renommée de Jésus,
et il dit: «Celui-ci est Jean le Baptiste;
lui s'est réveillé des morts,
et pour cela les puissances opèrent en lui».

L'activité rédactionnelle de Lc est encore plus importante. On relève en effet dans son texte de nombreux lucanismes⁽⁵⁾. En les éliminant, et en s'aidant du parallèle de Mc 8,28, on aboutit à un texte pré-lucanien tout à fait cohérent:

Or Hérode le tétrarque entendit la renommée de Jésus
(car on disait que Jean s'est réveillé des morts;
mais d'autres disaient qu'il est Elie;
mais d'autres disaient qu'il est l'un des prophètes).
Or Hérode dit: «Jean, je l'ai décapité;
qui donc est celui-ci dont j'entends de telles choses?»⁽⁶⁾

⁽⁵⁾ Boismard signale *ta ginomena panta* (substitué, me semble-t-il, à *tèn akoèn Iēsou*) *diēporei, dia to, legesthai hupo tinōn*, et *kai ezētei idein auton*, qui prépare Lc 23,8. Il faut ajouter la formule identique à Lc 9,19: *hoti prophētēs tis tōn archaiōn anestē*.

⁽⁶⁾ Le texte grec sous-jacent à Mc et à Lc serait celui-ci: *èkousen de Hērōidēs ho tetraarchēs tèn akoèn Iēsou, elegon gar hoti Iōannēs ègerthē ek nekrōn, alloi de elegon hoti Elias estin, alloi de elegon hoti heis tōn prophētōn; eipen de Hērōidēs: Iōannēn egō apekephalisa, tis de estin houtos peri hou akouō toiauta?* On remarquera cependant que le verbe *èporei* se trouve chez Mc dans un contexte tout proche (Mc 6,20): une autre hypothèse peut donc être formulée.

Le texte composite de Mc s'explique facilement par le désir d'exalter la célébrité de Jésus, et d'harmoniser ces deux traditions parallèles. Celles-ci apparaissent elles-mêmes comme deux versions développées d'une notice sémitique plus ancienne, qui est leur dénominateur commun⁽⁷⁾:

Et entendit Hérode le tétrarque l'audition de Jésus,
et il fut dit: «Celui-ci (est) Jean le Baptiste,
et il fut réveillé des morts».

Ce texte a été compris de deux manières différentes. Dans la documentation pré-lucanienne, on a lu correctement: «*wayyèamar*» («et il fut dit»). On a donc complété la notice à l'aide de la source de Mc 8,28, et on a décrit ensuite la perplexité d'Hérode devant les rumeurs de la foule, pour préparer la confession de foi de Pierre. Dans la documentation pré-matthéenne, on a lu: «*wayyômèr*» («et il dit»). On a donc donné à Hérode la paternité de ce racontar populaire. Quant à l'addition «et pour cela les puissances opèrent en lui», elle peut avoir une provenance samaritaine. En effet, nous avons en Ac 8,10 un bon parallèle à notre texte: les Samaritains attribuaient les œuvres merveilleuses du magicien Simon à une «puissance» (*dunamis*) agissant en lui; la même superstition aura été mise sur la bouche d'Hérode par la tradition évangélique⁽⁸⁾.

A propos d'une péricope particulière, nous voyons ainsi s'appliquer sans grande difficulté l'hypothèse générale que je propose:

- Au départ, il existait un évangile archaïque, que je pense pouvoir identifier au Matthieu hébreu dont parle la tradition patristique⁽⁹⁾.
- Lorsque cet évangile fut traduit en grec à l'intention des chrétiens d'Antioche, il fut complété à l'aide de traditions venant du groupe des Sept, dont les fondateurs de l'Eglise d'Antioche avaient recueilli l'héritage: c'est le second stade de la tradition matthéenne, où fut introduite la «section des pains».
- Ce même évangile sémitique fut traduit une nouvelle fois en grec à l'intention des communautés pagano-chrétiennes fondées par Paul; il fut remanié à l'aide d'un certain nombre de traditions utilisées par Paul et ses compagnons dans leur prédication.

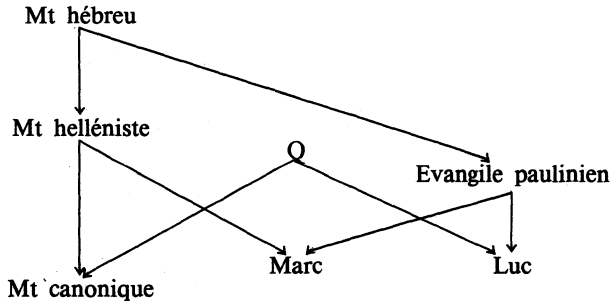
(7) Je n'oublie pas le caractère hypothétique de ces reconstructions. Si quelqu'un propose des améliorations, je les accueillerai avec reconnaissance.

(8) Il est inexact de dire avec Boismard que cette addition présente chez Mt et chez Mc reflète une conception paulinienne attestée en Gal 3,5 et 1 Co 12,11: Paul dit que «Dieu opère des miracles (*dunameis*) chez les croyants», il ne dit pas que «les puissances (*dunameis*) opèrent en eux». Il est vrai par contre que le verbe «opérer» (*energein*) est très fréquent chez Paul. Mais son usage était très répandu, puisqu'on le trouve dans le grec classique, dans la LXX et en Jc 5,16.

(9) Les partisans des Deux Sources identifient souvent le Matthieu hébreu (ou araméen) avec le document Q. Mais il est invraisemblable que cet évangile hébreu «édité pour les croyants venus du judaïsme» (Origène) ait déjà défendu l'universalisme systématique dont témoigne la double tradition (Mt-Lc), comme je l'ai montré dans *Les premiers évangiles*, 177-179.

- Marc a fusionné ces deux éditions de l'évangile primitif, en s'inspirant peut-être du style vivant et descriptif de la prédication orale de Pierre.
- Luc a complété l'évangile paulinien à l'aide de la source Q et de sa propre documentation.
- Un scribe anonyme a complété l'évangile d'Antioche à l'aide de la source Q et des traditions de son Eglise: c'est le troisième stade de la tradition matthéenne.

On peut figurer cette évolution de la manière suivante:



* * *

A cette histoire relativement simple, et globalement concordante avec la tradition patristique, Boismard me demande de substituer sa propre reconstruction. Essayons de la schématiser brièvement⁽¹⁰⁾.

Au départ existait un évangile palestinien, le document A. Il contenait la notice suivante:

Et Hérode entendit et il dit à ses serviteurs:
«Celui-ci est Jean, il s'est éveillé de chez les morts».

Ce texte fut transformé dans un évangile pagano-chrétien, le document B. Boismard reconstitue ainsi sa formulation:

Et le roi Hérode entendit,
et des gens disaient que Jean a été réveillé d'entre les morts;
d'autres disaient: «C'est Elie»;
d'autres disaient: «C'est un prophète
comme l'un des prophètes».

Ces deux textes furent fusionnés par un prédécesseur de Mc, le Mc-intermédiaire, qui ajouta la précision: «que moi j'ai décapité». On peut donc (Boismard ne le fait pas) reconstituer ainsi le Mc-intermédiaire:

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. P. BENOIT-M.-E. BOISMARD, *Synopse des quatre évangiles*, T. II (Paris 1972) 216-218.

Et le roi Hérode entendit,
 et des gens disaient que Jean a été réveillé d'entre les morts;
 d'autres disaient: «C'est Elie»;
 d'autres disaient: «C'est un prophète
 comme l'un des prophètes».
 Mais, ayant entendu, Hérode dit (à ses serviteurs):
 «Celui que moi j'ai décapité, Jean,
 celui-ci s'est éveillé des morts».

Lc est une paraphrase du Mc-intermédiaire. Il a remplacé le titre de «roi» par le titre archaïque de «tétrarque». Il a ajouté le complément «(il entendit) tout ce qui s'était passé». Il a introduit le thème de «l'embarras» d'Hérode. Il a évité d'attribuer à Hérode l'opinion populaire selon laquelle Jean s'était réveillé des morts. Il a cru bon d'ajouter une finale au récit, pour préparer Lc 23,8: «et il cherchait à le voir».

Jusque-là, les choses s'enchaînent logiquement. Mais c'est au niveau des dernières rédactions de Mt et de Mc que s'accumulent les invraisemblances. L'ultime rédaction de Mt dépend du document A, qui a été transmis sans changement par le Mt-intermédiaire. Après une cheville rédactionnelle («en ce temps-là»), notre Mt grec a attribué à Hérode, indépendamment de Lc mais dans un merveilleux accord avec lui, le titre de «tétrarque». Il a fait suivre le verbe «entendit» d'un complément («la renommée de Jésus»), réussissant ainsi à donner une saveur très sémitique à son texte grec. Et surtout, c'est lui qui a ajouté la finale «et c'est pourquoi les puissances opèrent en lui». Si cet ajout, selon l'opinion de Boismard, est très paulinien⁽¹¹⁾, c'est parce que l'ultime Rédacteur de Mt manifeste précisément des tendances pauliniennes!

L'ultime Rédacteur marcieu manifeste aussi les mêmes tendances. Rien d'étonnant: «L'ultime Rédacteur marcieu est aussi l'ultime Rédacteur matthéen»⁽¹²⁾. C'est donc également lui qui a ajouté en Mc 6,14d: «et c'est pourquoi les puissances opèrent en lui», attribuant ici cette opinion à des gens anonymes et non à Hérode. Il est aussi responsable de l'addition de Mc 6,14b «car son nom était devenu connu».

Franchement, à qui fera-t-on croire que le rédacteur final de Matthieu, si soucieux de hiératisme et d'ordonnance majestueuse, est la même personne que le rédacteur final de Marc, si spontané, si pittoresque, si psychologue? Et comment peut-on voir un disciple de Paul dans notre Matthieu grec, lui qui insiste sur l'accomplissement de la Loi dans ses moindres détails (Mt 5,17-19), et qui revient sans cesse sur la nécessité des œuvres (Mt 5,16.19; 7,12.19.21; 13,41; 19,17; 21,31; 23,3; 25,45; 28,20)? Le rédacteur paulino-matthéo-marco-lucanien de Boismard est un «deus ex machina» qui vient à point pour résoudre au dernier moment toutes les questions demeurrées insolubles: mais nous devons refuser de telles facilités.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. note 8.

⁽¹²⁾ *Synopse*, T. II, 39 et 217.

D'autant plus que le schéma global utilisé ici par Boismard ne se vérifie que pour cette péricope particulière. Ici, Lc dépend du Mc-intermédiaire et de lui seul; ailleurs, il faudra faire appel à un proto-Lc. Ici, le Mt-intermédiaire ne joue aucun rôle; ailleurs, son activité sera jugée déterminante. Ici, la complexité du texte de Mc est justifiée par la fusion des documents A et B au niveau du Mc-intermédiaire; ailleurs, elle sera attribuée à l'influence conjuguée du Mt-intermédiaire et du proto-Lc au niveau de la rédaction finale de Mc. Il n'y a donc pas chez Boismard d'accord entre ses analyses de détail et le schéma général qu'il propose pour l'ensemble de la composition des évangiles.

* * *

Dois-je compliquer ma théorie synoptique? L'exemple sélectionné par Boismard comme le plus probant conduit plutôt, me semble-t-il, à confirmer la validité de la généalogie relativement simple que je propose. Il aide aussi à mettre en évidence, paradoxalement, les graves inconvénients de son propre système.

Je tiens à dire mon admiration pour la compétence inégalée de M.-E. Boismard, et pour son énergie dans la recherche de la vérité. Mais, plutôt que de déployer des trésors d'ingéniosité, ne suffirait-il pas d'explorer toutes les possibilités d'une solution moins alambiquée, qui a plus de chances de convaincre les hommes de bonne volonté?

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Gethsemane: The Missing Witness

Debate on the historicity or legendary origin of the accounts of Jesus' prayer at Gethsemane before his arrest is familiar. R. Bultmann has described it as "originally an individual story of a thorough-going legendary character"⁽¹⁾, and M. Goguel claimed that "le récit ne peut, tout au plus, avoir qu'une valeur symbolique"⁽²⁾. On the other hand it is accepted by many scholars, V. Taylor going so far as to maintain that it has strong claims to be Petrine⁽³⁾. Much has been made of the fact that the disciples are reported to have fallen asleep, from which the conclusion has been drawn that they could have seen or heard nothing of what was happening, and that there is thus no genuine witness behind the tradition reporting Jesus' words. As M. Dibelius saw it, "für den wesentlichen Teil der Szene irgendeine Augenzeugschaft ausgeschlossen ist, denn die Zeugen schlafen"⁽⁴⁾, while for Goguel "on ne voit pas quelle confiance on pourrait avoir dans le récit d'une scène qui n'a eu pour témoins que trois hommes placés à distance et endormis"⁽⁵⁾.

The various arguments used to rebut the objection follow the line that the disciples were not necessarily asleep all the time. They would not all have fallen asleep simultaneously as soon as Jesus left them⁽⁶⁾, and the prayer recorded in the gospels might have been uttered before sleep overcame them⁽⁷⁾. B. H. Branscomb, who "would not wish to insist on the verbal accuracy of the words of the prayer", still accepted it as a summing up of the recollection of the disciples. They were "after a while at least asleep", but this is no bar to their having heard something⁽⁸⁾.

Certainly there is no logical obstacle to assuming that the disciples could have heard something before falling asleep, or even to the supposition that there might have been more about which we know nothing because sleep intervened. It would indeed have been improbable for men instructed to watch (Mark 14,34) to fall asleep immediately, just as it was probable that, it being night, they would succumb to sleep eventually. On the other hand, to

⁽¹⁾ R. BULTMANN, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, tr. J. Marsh (Oxford 1963) 267.

⁽²⁾ M. GOGUEL, *Jésus* (Paris 1950) 372-373.

⁽³⁾ V. TAYLOR, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London 1966) 551.

⁽⁴⁾ M. DIBELIUS, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen 1933) 213.

⁽⁵⁾ GOGUEL, *Jésus*, 373.

⁽⁶⁾ W. MARCHEL, *Abba Père* (Rome 1963) 119.

⁽⁷⁾ C. E. B. CRANFIELD, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark* (Cambridge 1959) 430.

⁽⁸⁾ B. H. BRANSCOMB, *The Gospel of Mark* (London 1937) 268.

insist that the information necessarily came only from what the disciples overheard before they slept, and that "il n'est qu'une réponse possible"⁽⁹⁾ may be as rash as to assume that the story must be legendary since there could have been no witnesses.

It seems to have been taken for granted without actual proof that there was nobody else in that area of the Mount of Olives that night. This may indeed have been the case, but it cannot be proved and may even not be probable. It is true that the presence of others would have been contrary to Jesus' obvious preference, since he had taken steps to be alone, first by leaving eight of the disciples behind, and then by directing Peter, James and John to stay and watch while he went on "a little further" (Mark 14,32-35). His desire for solitude is similarly clear in his withdrawal to the wilderness (Mark 1,12), his retreat to "the mountain" with his disciples (Mark 3,13), his going alone "up on the mountain to pray" (Mark 6,46), and the occasion of the transfiguration, again with only Peter, James and John "apart by themselves". But it seems that solitude may have been only relative on the night of the Last Supper, and that on that night above all there was a possibility that others were within earshot.

1. *A Possible Witness*

The first possibility stems from the presence at the arrest of Jesus of the "young man who followed him" and narrowly escaped being arrested himself (Mark 14,51-52). Only Mark among the evangelists mentions him, thus serving to make the point that only those relevant to the narrative are normally included, since Matthew and Luke must have been aware of Mark's detail, but chose to omit it. This suggests that it was quite possible for people who do not appear in a particular gospel account to have been present, without that presence being reported. But does it contribute any more than this general point? Is there any possibility that the young man could himself have been at Gethsemane while Jesus was praying?

For many commentators the answer would be an emphatic "No", although for varied reasons. There are those for whom the youth is a device rather than a historical person. The episode has been seen as having links with Amos 2,16⁽¹⁰⁾, as a means of providing a witness for the arrest⁽¹¹⁾, as a forerunner of the white-clad young man in the otherwise empty tomb on Easter morning⁽¹²⁾, or, basing the argument on the vocabulary used in the

⁽⁹⁾ A. FEUILLET, *L'Agonie de Gethsémani* (Paris 1977) 44.

⁽¹⁰⁾ A. LOISY, *L'Évangile selon Marc* (Paris 1912) 425.

⁽¹¹⁾ E. LOHMEYER, *Das Evangelium des Markus* (Göttingen 1937) 324.

⁽¹²⁾ P. MOURLON-BEERNAERT, "Structure littéraire et lecture théologique de Marc, 17,52", *L'Évangile selon Marc: tradition et rédaction* (ed. M. SABBE) (Gembloux - Leuven 1974) 258-259.

two accounts, as a secret promise that just as the young man escapes here, minus his σινδών, so will Jesus eventually escape death and his σινδών⁽¹³⁾.

Taken on a more literal level the scene has been disparaged as "trivial in the light of its surroundings"⁽¹⁴⁾, as "ridicule et indécente"⁽¹⁵⁾, and as "la pittoresque aventure du jeune nudiste"⁽¹⁶⁾ — a slightly startling verdict since "nudiste" normally implies a deliberate absence of clothing, while that of the youth was involuntary. Alternatively, it has been viewed as being so insignificant that this itself suggests its foundation in fact, since only its veracity would justify its inclusion⁽¹⁷⁾.

For most of those prepared to entertain the possibility of its genuineness, by far the most interesting aspect has been the identity of the young man. This could have some bearing on our problem. Two very early identifications, long since abandoned, are John (by Ambrose and Bede) or Jesus' brother James (by Epiphanius)⁽¹⁸⁾. Either of these suggestions would put an end to our investigation, since, while John and James were undoubtedly at Gethsemane, neither could be the additional witness. However neither identification can be allowable if we accept Mark's "all forsook him". During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the young man was assumed to have been a curious sightseer⁽¹⁹⁾, while more recently it has been suggested that he was John Mark himself. One among many, G. Dalman found it a "plausible conjecture" that John Mark, the son of the Mary referred to in Acts 12,12, owned the house where the disciples met in Jerusalem, and Gethsemane, thus accounting for Jesus often going there⁽²⁰⁾, while T. Zahn saw Mark as here narrating "a thoughtless action of his youth"⁽²¹⁾. While this identification had the attraction of providing a motive for the inclusion of the story, it has in its turn been discounted on the grounds that the preceding verses do not read like the account of an eyewitness⁽²²⁾, and we are left with less specific suggestions. He is variously taken to be a stranger⁽²³⁾, some one who lived nearby⁽²⁴⁾, or, more tentatively, a man who was later converted to Christianity and whose memories thus became part of the tradition⁽²⁵⁾.

None of these suggestions automatically rules out or favours the possibility of the young man's having been at Gethsemane. They leave the question

⁽¹³⁾ A. VANHOYE, "La fuite du jeune homme nu (Mc 14,51-52)", *Bib* 52 (1971) 401-406.

⁽¹⁴⁾ W. E. BUNDY, *Jesus and the First Three Gospels: an Introduction to the Synoptic Tradition* (Cambridge, MA 1955) 512.

⁽¹⁵⁾ VANHOYE, "La fuite", 401.

⁽¹⁶⁾ E. TROCMÉ, *La Formation de l'Évangile selon Marc* (Paris 1963) 194.

⁽¹⁷⁾ TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 561.

⁽¹⁸⁾ H. B. SWETE, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London 1908) 354.

⁽¹⁹⁾ E. BEST, *Mark: the Gospel as Story* (Edinburgh 1983) 26.

⁽²⁰⁾ G. DALMAN, *Sacred Sites and Ways*, tr. P. Levertoff (London - New York 1935) 324.

⁽²¹⁾ T. ZAHN, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Edinburgh 1909) II, 494.

⁽²²⁾ *Inter alia* BEST, *Mark: the Gospel as Story*, 26; TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 562.

⁽²³⁾ TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 561.

⁽²⁴⁾ LOHMEYER, *Markus*, 323-324.

⁽²⁵⁾ H. ANDERSON, *The Gospel of Mark* (London 1976) 324.

open, as does D. Nineham's rebuke that "speculation about the identity of the young man has been endless, and in view of the meagreness of our information, quite profitless" (26). What is more important is to try to establish what he could, or could not, have been doing.

At this stage numerous speculations emphatically invalidate the suggestion that the youth could have been within earshot of Jesus' prayer. Overwhelmingly, we are told in varying and not always compatible terms that the young man had either been in bed, or asleep, or both, before the arrest. L. Nolle extended the John Mark theory, assuming that the house was so full that night that the men including Jesus and the disciples went to spend the night in the garden, where Mark slept until the noise made by the soldiers awoke him (27). E. P. Gould supposed him to be sleeping indoors and to have got out of bed when he was roused by the noise of the crowd passing his house (28). Several writers report a version according to which John Mark was roused from sleep by a messenger who warned him of Jesus' danger with the result that he dashed off to warn him, arriving too late (29), while V. Taylor accepts that the youth had apparently been aroused from sleep, but wisely refrains from specifying the circumstances (30).

2. The "Obstacle" of the Clothing

Not a word in the narrative justifies this apparent obsession with sleep, which seems to have been deduced from the way the youth was dressed, or, as some see it, his state of undress. We get a picture of him rising in haste, either without time to dress, or with a sheet in lieu of more conventional clothing. In fact he is several times assumed to have been wearing, or probably wearing, a nightdress (31), a picturesque suggestion which is rather spoiled when one realizes that the daytime outer garment served as a wrap at night (32). If such views can be irrefutably substantiated we must abandon any idea that the young man could have been at Gethsemane. But what was he wearing? Was he really so inadequately clad?

The two verses describing the episode constitute something of a translator's nightmare, since they include ambiguities which cannot be readily carried over into other languages and the translator is obliged to opt for one meaning rather than another. Since the words γυμνός and συνδών are both

(26) D. NINEHAM, *Saint Mark* (London 1963) 396.

(27) L. NOLLE, "The Young Man in Mk. XIV, 51", *Scripture* 2 (1947) 113.

(28) E. P. GOULD, *The Gospel of Mark* (Edinburgh 1896) 276.

(29) F. F. BRUCE (ed.), *The International Bible Commentary* (Basingstoke 1986) 1177; A. RAWLINSON, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London 1925) 216.

(30) TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 561.

(31) J. R. DUMMELOW (ed.), *A Commentary on the Holy Bible by Various Authors* (London 1909) 732; SWETE, *St. Mark*, 354.

(32) W. M. CLOW, *The Bible Reader's Encyclopaedia and Concordance* (London - New York n.d.) 80; F. W. BEARE, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (Oxford 1981) 158-159.

open to more than one interpretation, we are faced with a bewildering variety of suggestions as to how the youth was dressed, many of them incompatible with his having been at Gethsemane or anywhere else in the open air for any length of time. In this context γυμνός has traditionally been rendered as "naked", from the "nudus" of the Vulgate to the "noeth" of the 1988 *Beibl Cymraeg Newydd*. On the other hand it can also mean "scantily clad" and this is widely taken to mean "wearing only a χιτῶν/tunic". These interpretations, while frequently accepted as synonymous, are not necessarily so, as we shall see. The phrase ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ, its authenticity contested since it appears only in some sources⁽³³⁾, does not assist elucidation since the phrase shares the ambiguity of γυμνός⁽³⁴⁾.

Confusion is worse confounded by the use of σινδών to describe whatever the youth was wearing. One would have hoped that the type of garment specified would clarify the degree of his nakedness or otherwise, but this is not the case. By far the best known use of σινδών must be to designate the linen cloth or shroud which the synoptic writers tell us was used to wrap Jesus' body for burial, but it is widely noted that the word can also be used of a linen garment, as indeed it is in LXX. Unfortunately neither OT reference is very illuminating as to the type of garment envisaged, Judg 14,12 and Prov 31,22 stressing the use of linen rather than indicating shape or function. No guidance is to be derived from the Vulgate which renders σινδών as "sindon" in each case.

The resulting permutations of interpretation are understandably numerous. The youth is taken to have been totally naked under his σινδών (untranslated)⁽³⁵⁾, naked but for a sheet⁽³⁶⁾, a cloth (RSV), a nightgown⁽³⁷⁾ or a χιτῶν⁽³⁸⁾. The theory of total nakedness is explicitly rejected by F. C. Grant and C. S. Mann⁽³⁹⁾ and the young man is deemed to have been wearing a linen cloth over his χιτῶν⁽⁴⁰⁾, a linen outer garment over his χιτῶν⁽⁴¹⁾, and, more baffling, a tunic over his undergarment⁽⁴²⁾, a suggestion which seems to stem from a confusion of terms, both words referring to the χιτῶν.

In fact it is improbable that the youth fled stark naked, despite the two possible meanings of γυμνός. It was the usual practice to wear a strip of

⁽³³⁾ TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 561.

⁽³⁴⁾ The ambiguity existed even in Greek culture, since, while for youths gymnastics meant naked training, girls were not totally naked.

⁽³⁵⁾ VANHOYE, "La fuite", 404.

⁽³⁶⁾ TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 561.

⁽³⁷⁾ A. MARSHALL, *The R.S.V. Interlinear Greek-English New Testament* (Basingstoke 1968) 14, 51-52.

⁽³⁸⁾ R. G. BRATCHER - E. A. NIDA, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark* (Leiden 1961) 460.

⁽³⁹⁾ F. C. GRANT in *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York 1986) vii, 886; C. S. MANN, *Mark: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York 1986) 599.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ S. E. JOHNSON, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London 1960) 238.

⁽⁴¹⁾ CRANFIELD, *Saint Mark*, 438.

⁽⁴²⁾ BRANSCOMB, *Mark*, 271.

cloth round the loins⁽⁴³⁾, even at night⁽⁴⁴⁾. The fact that it is not mentioned in the NT need not disturb us⁽⁴⁵⁾ since nor are head coverings which would certainly have been necessary on occasion for protection from the sun. As is usual with the gospels, only the relevant is indicated. The existence of the loin covering would be taken for granted. Jewish aversion to nakedness is however illustrated in the prescription that in the case of criminals to be stoned "a man is kept covered in front and a woman both in front and behind"⁽⁴⁶⁾ and the fact that Jesus was given back his own clothes for the walk to Calvary (Mark 15,20) contrary to Roman custom. Since, in the eyes of the Romans, Jesus was just another common criminal, there was no reason for him to be treated exceptionally in the matter of clothing, and one is forced to assume that allowing Jewish criminals to dress again after the flogging must have been standard practice, in deference to Jewish sensibilities. Awareness of the possibility of a loin cloth being worn is apparent in modern translations of John 21,7, where γυμνός describes Peter's state while fishing. While the Vulgate again uses "nudus", the RSV avoids the explicit "naked" and neatly puts it that "he was stripped for work", and *Y Beibl Cymraeg Newydd* (1988) expresses it "yr oedd wedi tynnu ei ddillad" (= he had removed his clothes). B. Lindars takes it that Peter was wearing only "a small undergarment"⁽⁴⁷⁾, and G. H. C. Macgregor that he wore only a loin cloth⁽⁴⁸⁾.

Two main garments are mentioned in the gospels and by most authorities, although in trying to identify them we need to remember that during a period of hundreds of years garments designated by the same word in different parts of the Bible were likely to have changed, just as changes took place, with the same words still used, after the time of Jesus. The gospel accounts need not be exhaustive. By the time of the Mishnah it was prescribed that a man might save eighteen garments from a fire on the sabbath and the Gemara defines these as including no less than fourteen different ones⁽⁴⁹⁾. Of the two items mentioned in the gospels, first comes the χιτών, frequently defined as an undergarment, and then the ἱμάτιον or outer garment. The latter was normally, but not necessarily, of wool, and was usually draped over the former, although it could be worn alone⁽⁵⁰⁾. It would thus be easily discarded in a scuffle.

The term χιτών tends to indicate the function of the garment rather than its shape, since the form changed significantly over the years. It is some-

⁽⁴³⁾ P. BARBET, *La Passion de N-S Jésus-Christ selon le Chirurgien* (Issoudun 1958) 80; P. THOBY, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes 1959) 6.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (San Francisco 1985) 228.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ But cf. Jer 13,1-7.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ H. DANBY (ed.), *The Mishnah* (London 1933) *Sanh.* vi, 3.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ B. LINDARS, *The Gospel of John* (London 1972) 628.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ G. H. C. MACGREGOR, *The Gospel of John* (London 1928) 371.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ DANBY, *The Mishnah, Shab.* xvi, 4 and p. 114, n. 9.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ M. AVI-YONAH, *New Testament* (Illustrated World of the Bible Library 5) (New York - London 1961) 33.

times described as having sleeves⁽⁵¹⁾, which would be a definite obstacle to its hurried removal. Elsewhere it is suggested that it might be a kind of shift cut out of a single piece of cloth with holes for the head and arms⁽⁵²⁾. At some stage, the χιτών was both of these, but it had a humbler beginning. Unfortunately Jewish avoidance of portraits during the first century makes it difficult to situate exactly the development from one form to another. It began life as a rectangle of cloth, folded round the body, and only later were two pieces of material sewn together, sometimes also forming sleeves⁽⁵³⁾. The flat rectangular form, worn folded double and then draped round the body, and held together at the shoulder by a variety of clips or clasps⁽⁵⁴⁾ is likely to have been in use still in the time of Jesus. Not only does archaeological and artistic evidence from neighbouring countries suggest the appearance of the sewn and sleeved tunics to date from the second century, with them becoming predominant by the fourth century, but we have the evidence of Jesus' χιτών, taken from him just before the crucifixion, and reported to be ἄρραφος, and ὑφαντός δι' ὅλου (John 19,23). It is difficult to see how one could weave (as distinct from knit) a sleeved χιτών of the type frequently illustrated, without any seams being employed in its construction, which suggests that Jesus wore the rectangular folded variety, in which case the young man could well have possessed the same.

Once this is clear, it seems reasonable that σινδών should stress the substance of which the garment was made, rather than its shape, since the ἱμάτιον and the χιτών were both rectangular, and, if made of linen, would not be dissimilar from the σινδών of the burial. We no longer have to consign the youth to bed to account for him wearing a piece of linen, which, through its quality and cost, might mark him out as well-off⁽⁵⁵⁾, but not eccentric or conspicuous.

Against the idea that he left his ἱμάτιον behind and fled in his χιτών, one could perhaps argue that to wear the ἱμάτιον on top of the χιτών was so ordinary as to be unworthy of comment by the evangelist. Would it be practical or socially acceptable for him to be out in only his χιτών? It seems that it would, so long as the night was not too wet and windy. The lowest temperature that night, assuming temperatures not to have changed unduly since then, would have been above 52°F/11°C⁽⁵⁶⁾, and he would have been well insulated by the folds of his double garment. As for decency, the χιτών was not an undergarment in the sense that modern briefs or woolly combinations are undergarments. Not only was part of it likely to be visible in ordinary wear, but the gospels show us situations where individuals readily shed the ἱμάτιον, inevitably appearing only in the χιτών. Bartimaeus tossed his ἱμάτιον aside as he came to meet Jesus (Mark 10,50),

⁽⁵¹⁾ CRANFIELD, *Saint Mark*, 439.

⁽⁵²⁾ LINDARS, *John*, 577-578.

⁽⁵³⁾ J. LAVER, *A Concise History of Costume* (London 1969) 30.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ "Vêtement" in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris 1907-1953).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ CRANFIELD, *Saint Mark*, 439; TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 561.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ T. BROSAHEN, *Frommer's Israel on \$ 30 and \$ 35 a Day* (New York 1986) 301.

which he would hardly have done if it were improper to wear only the χιτὼν; at least one disciple shed his ἱμάτιον to serve as a saddle on the colt ridden by Jesus to Jerusalem, and the crowds who came to meet Jesus spread their outer garments before the animal, again revealing the χιτὼν (Mark 11,7-8). Why, then, should the youth not have been out for some hours wearing the σινδών, given that this is a perfect description of a simple linen χιτὼν?

Naturally none of this provides any proof whatsoever that the youth was at Gethsemane. While V. Taylor prefers to see συνηκολούθει as relating to what happened only after the disciples fled, he admits that "it may indicate that the young man had followed Jesus from the Upper Room"⁽⁵⁷⁾. Whether he came from the Upper Room or not, the sentence is thus grammatically compatible with his being present at the moment of the arrest and therefore at Gethsemane. Legends about rushing to warn Jesus and arriving too late may have weighted judgement against this. But if we set this and the insistence that the youth must have been asleep aside, given the fact that he risked arrest by being where he was, it seems more credible that he was already at Gethsemane than that he arrived with the troops.

Presence does not imply witness. Once again we can prove nothing. The youth certainly does not have to have heard Jesus' prayer, nor, if he did hear it, is it arguable that it was definitely he who reported it. But this apparently insignificant investigation of what an unknown young man was wearing does demonstrate that it was not logically impossible for him to be there or to hear what happened. To assume there could be no witness at all other than the disciples is to assume what cannot be proved, so long as it is possible for anyone else to have been there.

3. *An Alternative*

If we forget all about Mark's young man and his narrow escape, there are, however, other possibilities, although at first sight these are less obvious, because we do not meet them in the gospels. This was Passover week. According to the synoptics it was the night of the Passover meal. According to John it was the preceding night. In either case solitude on the Mount of Olives was likely to be difficult to find that night. Pilgrims were already arriving for the feast when Jesus and his disciples reached the city some days before. Despite the duty imposed on the residents of Jerusalem to provide hospitality for visitors at such times, as exemplified by the loan of the Upper Room to Jesus and the disciples, it was impossible for all to find room within the city, and many had to be content with camping in its vicinity⁽⁵⁸⁾. The dramatic qualities of the gospel accounts focus our attention so closely on the

⁽⁵⁷⁾ TAYLOR, *St. Mark*, 561.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ J. JEREMIAS, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, tr. F.H. and C.H. Cave (London 1969) 61.

chief protagonists that we tend to forget those who are not mentioned, but it is difficult to make a case for there being no pilgrims near Gethsemane. It has been claimed that it was only at Tabernacles and not Passover that pilgrims camped on the Mount of Olives, since the Passover meal had to be eaten in Jerusalem⁽⁵⁹⁾. The fact that Jesus himself was on the Mount of Olives that evening might make us cautious on this point. It is true that the Passover meal had to be eaten "in Jerusalem", but this no longer meant within the city walls. The shortage of accommodation in Jerusalem had been specifically provided for by the extending of the legal boundaries⁽⁶⁰⁾. Since the limit on the eastern side was Bethphage⁽⁶¹⁾, there was no bar to pilgrims camping on the western side of the Mount. While A. Scholfield lists the traditional camping areas for pilgrims from Palestine as the west for those from the plain of Sharon and Joppa, the south for those from Judah, the north for the Samaritans (who would in fact have been absent), and the east, including the Mount of Olives, for the Galileans⁽⁶²⁾, we need to remember that many foreigners too made the journey, and space would be at a premium. Josephus describes how an "innumerable multitude came thither out of the country" at Passover and refers to "those that had their tents without the temple"⁽⁶³⁾. While estimates of 100,000 or 125,000 pilgrims may be generous⁽⁶⁴⁾, even with the city limits extended to Bethphage, there is not likely to have been much room to spare.

It would thus be wrong to assume that the western side of the Mount of Olives was wholly or even largely deserted that night. There may even have been other parties at Gethsemane, given the obligation to extend hospitality to others. We will never know whether any of these pilgrims witnessed what happened there. At best we can only conjecture. But it would be misleading to envisage the Mount as an unfrequented spot where there could not possibly be other witnesses. Surely its crowded state is reflected in the impressive show of strength used to arrest Jesus that night?

Conclusion

This investigation, then, broadens the question of the possibility of the account of Jesus' prayer at Gethsemane being based on a historical event, treated differently by the three synoptic writers. Our scrutiny of the episode of the young man, frequently dismissed as having nothing of importance to add to the story, suggests that speculation has been incautious in assuming on the basis of the description of his clothing that he was necessarily in bed or asleep before the arrest, and in consequently ruling him out as a theoretically

⁽⁵⁹⁾ P. CARRINGTON, *According to Mark* (Cambridge 1960) 308.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ JEREMIAS, *Jerusalem*, 60.

⁽⁶¹⁾ DANBY, *The Mishnah*, notes to *Men.* vii, 3 and *Men.* xi, 2.

⁽⁶²⁾ A. T. SCHOLFIELD, *Where He dwelt* (London 1913) 231.

⁽⁶³⁾ *Antiquities*, xvii, 9 § 213-214 and 217.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ G. CORNFELD, *The Historical Jesus* (London - New York 1982) 99; JEREMIAS, *Jerusalem*, 83-84.

possible witness. Historical evidence of the custom of pilgrims camping on the Mount of Olives widens the field yet further. While in the nature of things neither inquiry can provide positive proof as to the source of the account, evidence suggests that the problem has previously been posed in too restricted terms.

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Gal 4,25a: Evidence of Targumic Tradition in Gal 4,21-31?

In discussing Gal 4,21-31 scholars have devoted particular attention to Paul's enigmatic reference to Hagar as "Mount Sinai in Arabia" in verse 25a. Most believed that the verse was important for the allegory and that it was "a real *crux interpretum*"⁽¹⁾ for the passage. The problem of the meaning of the sentence⁽²⁾ has led to the many variant readings found in the textual tradition. Text critical questions arise concerning whether the particle *δέ* or *γάρ* introduced the verse and concerning the absence of the name "Hagar". H. Schlier is of the opinion that *γάρ* was the original reading and *δέ*, although better attested, represented an easing of the causal meaning of the sentence⁽³⁾. He concluded that verse 25a gives the reason for the correlation of 'Αγά and Σινᾶ⁽⁴⁾.

F. Mussner, however, is of the opposite opinion. He believes that Paul's allegorical comparison of Hagar with Mount Sinai, which is based on the idea of "slavery", needed clear causal foundation. Verse 25a appears to offer the reason for the comparison of Hagar with Mount Sinai because the meaning of the verse in the context of the "allegory" was no longer known. This led to the addition of the word 'Αγά before Σινᾶ and the substitution of the causal particle *γάρ* for *δέ* after the article *τό*. Therefore, *δέ* does not alleviate the causal meaning of the sentence, as H. Schlier believes, but the substitution of the causal *γάρ* alleviates an apparently meaningless geographical aside⁽⁵⁾.

Since the reading of *δέ* is better attested than that of *γάρ*, recent text critical scholarship has favored the *lectio difficilior* and explained the omission of the name "Hagar" or the particle *γάρ* as the result of the juxtaposition of *γάρ* and 'Αγά⁽⁶⁾. Therefore, verse 25a contains the statement: *τὸ δὲ*

⁽¹⁾ H. D. BETZ, *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia 1979) 244.

⁽²⁾ See BETZ, *Galatians*, 244.

⁽³⁾ H. SCHLIER, *Der Brief an die Galater* (MeyerK 7; Göttingen 1965) 219, n. 5.

⁽⁴⁾ SCHLIER, *Galater*, 219: "V. 25 erscheint auf alle Fälle eine Begründung für die Zusammengehörigkeit von 'Αγά und Σινᾶ geben zu wollen".

⁽⁵⁾ See F. MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT 9; Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1974) 322.

⁽⁶⁾ See B. M. METZGER, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament* (London-New York 1971) 596.

Ἄγὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ("now the word⁽⁷⁾ [or name⁽⁸⁾] Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia")⁽⁹⁾.

If the verse is a *crux interpretum* for the passage, what is its meaning and function? As early as the church father John Chrysostom⁽¹⁰⁾ († 407) commentators believed that a word-play was at work in verse 25a. Therefore, some authors speculated on different meanings of the verse. One could take "in Arabia" to mean "in Arabic" and, since Paul spent some time in Arabia (Gal 1,17), he perhaps understood the Arabic *hadjar* ("rock") as a reference to Mount Sinai. This, however, seems unlikely because the Arabic *h* does not correspond to the Hebrew ה⁽¹¹⁾.

Certainly, according to verse 25a, Paul does associate the word Hagar with the place Mount Sinai in the wilderness of Arabia. I would like to show that what permits the allegorical association is indeed the play on words "Hagar" and "Hagra" found in *Tg. Ps.-J.*⁽¹²⁾ and *Tg. Onq.* Gen 16,7: "Then an angel found her [Hagar] by a spring of water in the wilderness, by the spring on the road to *Hagra*"⁽¹³⁾. In this article I will briefly review the targumic tradition concerning Hagra and then attempt to show that verse 25a is the key to the understanding of the allegory of Sarah and Hagar which is drawn from the targumic tradition of Gen 16 where the themes of "slavery" and "the children of Hagar" are salient.

In the targumic tradition the Masoretic location of Shur is rendered by either תגרא or הלותא⁽¹⁴⁾. *Tg. Onqelos* consistently uses Hagra for Shur in Gen 16,7; 20,1; 25,18 and Exod 15,22. Likewise in Gen 16,14 *Tg. Onqelos* renders the Masoretic location of Bered with Hagra, "possibly because Shur and Bered were in the same general area"⁽¹⁵⁾ or because the location of Bered, which is mentioned only here in the Old Testament, is uncertain⁽¹⁶⁾. There-

(7) SCHLIER, *Galater*, 220, translates the sentence: "Denn das Wort Hagar bezeichnet den Sinaiberg in Arabien". See also A. OEPKE, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (THKNT 99; Berlin 1957) 109.

(8) BETZ, *Galatians*, 244, n. 65, notes: "The neuter article τό associated with the female Hagar makes it a certainty that Paul is considering the name".

(9) This is the reading found in the 26th edition of NESTLE-ALAND, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. See BETZ, *Galatians*, 244.

(10) OEPKE, *Galater*, 112, cites the comment of Chrysostomus: "τὸ δὲ Σινᾶ ὄρος οὕτω (scil' Ἀγάρ) μεθερμηνεύεται τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ αὐτῶν γλώττῃ". See John Chrysostom's commentary on Galatians in PG 61.662.

(11) See H. LIETZMANN, *An die Galater* (HNT 10; Tübingen 1971) 31; OEPKE, *Galater*, 112-113; SCHLIER, *Galater*, 220; BETZ, *Galatians*, 245.

(12) *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 16,7: עינא דמא במדברא על עינא דבאורח תגרא ואשכח מלאכא דיי על עינא דמא במדברא על עינא דבאורח תגרא. E. G. CLARKE, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken, NJ 1984) 17.

(13) *Tg. Onq.* Gen 16,7: עינא דמא במדברא על עינא דבאורח תגרא. M. ABERBACH - B. GROSSFELD, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis. A Critical Analysis together with an English Translation of the Text* (Hoboken, NJ 1982) 96.

(14) For the discussion of the targumic tradition of Hagra and Halusa and for reading an earlier draft of this paper I am indebted to Professor E. G. Clarke of the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of Toronto.

(15) ABERBACH - GROSSFELD, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis*, 97, n. 5.

(16) See G. I. DAVIES, "Hagra, El-Hegra and the Location of Mount Sinai", VT 22 (1972) 156. Davies also notes that the collocation of Kadesh and Shur in

fore, *Tg. Onqelos* clearly represents the Hagra tradition in the story of Sarah and Hagar in Gen 16. On the other hand *Tg. Neofiti* and the *Fragmentary Tg.*⁽¹⁷⁾ consistently render Shur and Bered with Halusa. Therefore, there is also clearly a Halusa tradition in circulation and available to the Targumists. The existence of both traditions is confirmed by the *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*. In Gen 16,7 it uses Hagra for Shur but renders Bered in Gen 16,14 with Halusa, which appears to be an attempt to distinguish the two places within the short space of chapter 16⁽¹⁸⁾.

That Paul is using the targumic Hagar/Hagra tradition of Gen 16,7 found in *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Tg. Onqelos* which enables him by means of a word-play to associate Hagar with the place, Hagra, and Mount Sinai in the wilderness becomes evident when one examines other elements in the targumic tradition of Gen 16 and compares them to Gal 4,21-31.

In Gal 4,21-31 the *tertium comparationis* of Paul's allegory is "slavery"⁽¹⁹⁾. Hagar is a *slave woman* (παίδισκη) and Paul introduces two statements concerning Hagar. First, in verse 24 he explains the allegory of the Sarah and Hagar: "For they are two covenants, one from Mount Sinai, *giving birth into slavery* (εις δουλείαν γεννώσα), this is Hagar". Second, in verse 25b Paul, after placing Hagar in relation to Mount Sinai in Arabia, writes: "she"⁽²⁰⁾ also corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she *serves as a slave with her children* (δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς).

The inspiration for an allegory whose *tertium comparationis* is slavery could be Gen 16,1 where Hagar is described as Sarah's Egyptian "female servant" (MT, פִּנְסָה; LXX, παίδισκη). However, as the drama between the two women unfolds in the Masoretic text, Hagar's state of slavery is not a central theme but rather Sarah's abusiveness. Hagar flees from Sarah because Sarah "abused" (נָפְתָה Gen 16,6) her. When the angel of the Lord finds Hagar by the spring on the road to Shur, he tells her, "Return to your mistress and submit to her abusive treatment" (חֲשֹׁב לַמִּסְתָּהּ: let yourself be oppressed under her hands; LXX, ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς, Gen 16,9). When one compares the Masoretic text with the Hagar/Hagra tradition of *Tg. Onqelos* a significant shift of emphasis takes place. In *Tg. Onq.* Gen 16,9 the angel of the Lord says to Hagar: "Return to your mistress and let yourself be

Gen 20,1 may have suggested to the translator that "the same rendering as there would be appropriate" in Gen 16,14 for Kadesh and Bered. M. McNAMARA; "'to de [Hagar] Sina oros estin en tē Arabia' (Gal. 4:25a): Paul and Petra", *Milltown Studies* 2 (1978) 29, is of the opinion that "already in the biblical narrative (cp. Gen 16:7 with 16:14) these two sites [Shur and Bered] seem to be identified".

⁽¹⁷⁾ Gen 20,1 is absent from the *Fragmentary Tg.*

⁽¹⁸⁾ *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* also uses Hagra for Shur in Gen 20,1 and Halusa for Shur in Gen 25,18 and Exod 15,22. McNAMARA, "Paul and Petra", 29, is incorrect when he supposes that the Palestinian Targum tradition is uniform and that Shur and Bered are identified only with Halusa in the Palestinian Targum tradition.

⁽¹⁹⁾ See MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief*, 324.

⁽²⁰⁾ SCHLIER, *Galater*, 221, writes that the subject of verse 25b is Hagar from the end of verse 24. See also LIETZMANN, *An die Galater*, 31-32.

enslaved by her" (ואישתעבדי תחת ידה)⁽²¹⁾. The word ואישתעבדי expresses the legal condition of slavery⁽²²⁾. It is equivalent to the word δουλεύει⁽²³⁾ used by Paul in Gal 4,25b and expresses his main point of comparison.

In his allegory Paul wishes to present Hagar — Sinai covenant — present Jerusalem — children of Hagar — slavery on the same level⁽²⁴⁾. Not only is a geographical reference⁽²⁵⁾ to the Mount Sinai covenant necessary, if the relation of the "present Jerusalem" with the Nomos-slavery is to be visible⁽²⁶⁾ but some indication that Hagar is associated with Mount Sinai and that she is in a state of slavery with her children is also necessary. The sentence in verse 25a, "Now, the word Hagar is Mountain Sinai in Arabia", which points to a play on the words "Hagar" and "Hagra", accomplishes all of these purposes. It introduces a geographical reference to Mount Sinai through the association of Hagar with Hagra in the wilderness of Sinai. Moreover, it introduces into the allegory the targumic Hagar/Hagra tradition of Gen 16 in which the angel of the Lord passes divine judgement upon Hagar, "Let yourself be enslaved by" Sarah.

If one looks further into the targumic Hagar/Hagra tradition of Gen 16, one finds another theme of Gal 4,21-31 in the drama between Sarah and Hagar. The *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* and the *Fragmentary Targum* bring the children of Hagar into the narrative. In the Masoretic text Gen 16,5 reads, "Sarah says to Abram, 'May the wrong done to me be on you! I gave my maid to your embrace, and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked on me with contempt. May the Lord judge between you and me!'". The idea that the Lord is to judge Sarah's case seems to have inspired the Targumist to incorporate Sarah's defense and God's verdict into the speech. Therefore, *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 16,5 presents an extended speech of Sarah and mentions the children of Hagar. Sarah speaks to Abram:

All my affliction is from you: trusting that you would act justly towards me, I left my country and my father's house, and I came up

⁽²¹⁾ Gen 16,9 is missing from the British Museum manuscript Add. 27031 of the *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*, probably because of homoioteleuton (verses 9 and 10 begin with the same words, "The angel of the Lord said to her..."). In his French translation R. Le Déaut supplies Gen 16,9 from the *editio princeps*. One could legitimately ask whether a verse similar to *Tg. Onq.* Gen 16,9 could have stood in Add. 27031 in place of the text of the *editio princeps*. See R. LE DÉAUT, *Targum du Pentateuque: Traduction des deux recensions palestiniennes complètes avec introduction, parallèles, notes et index* (5 vols.; Paris 1978) I, 117 n. 8: "Le verset entier manque dans 27031; donné par *ed. pr.*".

⁽²²⁾ See ABERBACH — GROSSFELD, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis*, 98.

⁽²³⁾ K. H. RENGSTORF, "δουλεύω", *TWNT* 2 (1960) 264-282.

⁽²⁴⁾ See SCHLIER, *Galater*, 220-221. MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief*, 324, presents different elements in the allegory.

⁽²⁵⁾ According to ancient geography the Sinai peninsula appears to have belonged to Arabia (see LIETZMANN, *An die Galater*, 31; MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief*, 323, n. 34) and Paul's contemporaries located Mount Sinai east of the Gulf of 'Aqaba and between Petra and Hagra (see H. GESE, "Τὸ δὲ Ἀγὰρ Σινὰ ὅρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ (Gal 4: 25)", *Das ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift für Leonhard Rost* [ed. F. MASS] [Berlin 1967] 89).

⁽²⁶⁾ See MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief*, 323.

with you to a strange land. And because I was not able to bear, I set free my handmaid and I gave her to lie in your bosom; and when she saw that she was with child she held my honour in contempt before her. But now my affliction is revealed before the Lord and he will spread his peace between me and you, and from us will the land be replenished. *We shall have no need of the children of Hagar*, the daughter of Pharaoh the son of Nimrod, who threw you into the fiery furnace⁽²⁷⁾.

A similar addition to Gen 16,5 is preserved in the *Fragmentary Targum* which formulates Sarah's speech clearly as her "case" and mentions the children of Hagar⁽²⁸⁾.

Opinions concerning the relation of the *Fragmentary Targum* to *Tgs. Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Onqelos* vary⁽²⁹⁾. Nevertheless, the collections of fragments that constitute the *Fragmentary Targum* seem to have been "consciously selected and assembled". They represent variant readings and were preserved and collected because of "the interest to the redactor". Although the *raison d'être* of the collection remains under discussion, it appears that the redactor wished to preserve some elements of targumic tradition that were in danger of being lost when the official Targums began to conform more closely to the Masoretic text.

The preservation of the addition to Gen 16,5 in the *Fragmentary Targum* and the *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* is significant because it indicates the existence of a Hagar/Hagra tradition in which God judges that the land will be replenished with the children of Abraham and that the children of the promise have no need of the children of Hagar, the slave woman. This is the

⁽²⁷⁾ See CLARKE, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, 16-17: Gen 16,5:

ואמרת שרי לאברם כל עולבני מין דהוינא רחיצא דתעבד דיני דאנא שבקית ארעי ובית אינא ועליית עימך לארע נוכריתא וכדון בגין דלא הוינא ילדא חוריתא אמתי ויהבתא למשכב בעיטפך וחמת ארום עברת ויתבוי איקרי באנפחא וכדון אתגלי קדם יי עולבני ויפרש שלמיה בינא וכינך ותתמלי ארעא מינך ולא נעסוד לבנוא דהגר בת פרעה בר נימרוד דסלקך לאתונא דגורא.

⁽²⁸⁾ *Frg. Tg.* Gen 16,5: "My case and my humiliation are placed in your hand; I forgot my land and my birthplace and my father's house, and I came with you, as the faith in Heaven was upon you; I entered with you before the kings of the earth — before Pharaoh king of Egypt and before Abimelech king of the Philistines; and I said: "he is my brother", so they would not kill you; and then, when I saw that I did not bear a child, (and) I took Hagar the Egyptian, my servant, and I gave her to you as a wife; and she saw that she had conceived, and my honor was disparaged in her eyes; now may the Lord be revealed and judge between me and you, and may He spread His peace upon me and upon you; and may the earth be filled from me and from you, *so that we will not need the children of Hagar the Egyptian, the servant*; she being from the offspring of the nation that cast you into the fiery furnace". See M. L. KLEIN, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to their Extant Sources* (AnBib 76; 2 vols.; Rome 1980) I, 51; II, 13. It is interesting that *Tg. Neof.*, which shows the tendency to conform to the Masoretic text, also preserves a nearly similar tradition to Gen 16,5 (see R. LE DÉAUT, *Targum du Pentateuque*, 175-176).

⁽²⁹⁾ See KLEIN, *The Fragment-Targums*, I, 13-19.

conclusion of Paul's allegory in Gal 4,31, "... we are not children of a slave woman but of the free woman".

In regard to the relationship of targumic tradition to the New Testament, many authors would agree with R. Le Déaut who writes, "the research of G. Vermes, P. Grelot, A. Diez Macho, J. Heinemann and others has come to the conclusion that the recensions of the Palestinian targums have preserved many exegetical traditions which would have circulated in the Jewish community of the first century"⁽³⁰⁾. In the present case of Gal 4,21-31, I believe I have used a manner of argument called by M. McNamara "convergence of evidence". I have attempted to show that a manifold relation exists between Gal 4,21-31 and a targumic Hagar/Hagra tradition of Gen 16 preserved in *Tgs. Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Onqelos*⁽³¹⁾. Therefore, there is "a strong indication that the Palestinian Targum tradition existed when the New Testament was being composed, and that it influenced the New Testament" writer⁽³²⁾.

H. Schlier is of the opinion that the exact meaning of verse 25a and therefore the cause and occasion which enabled Paul to connect Hagar with the Sinai covenant must remain a mystery⁽³³⁾. If one, however, examines the targumic tradition of Gen 16 preserved in *Tgs. Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Onqelos*, the cause and occasion that enabled Paul to connect Hagar with the Sinai covenant become clear. There exists an interpretation of the drama between Sarah and Hagar in which Hagar with her children becomes the prototype⁽³⁴⁾ for those enslaved and outside of the promise. Paul draws⁽³⁵⁾ upon this tra-

⁽³⁰⁾ R. LE DÉAUT, *The Message of the New Testament and the Aramaic Bible (Targum)* (Subsidia biblica 5; Rome 1982) 24.

⁽³¹⁾ If Gen 16,9, omitted from the British Museum manuscript Add. 27031 of the *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*, were the same as what is found in *Tg. Onqelos*, then the tradition on which Paul is dependent would be attested in *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*; see above footnote 21.

⁽³²⁾ M. McNAMARA, *Targum and Testament. Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids 1972) 15.

⁽³³⁾ See SCHLIER, *Galater*, 220: "So muss m. E. der genaue Sinn des Satzchens V. 25a und damit der Grund und Anlass, der es Paulus ermöglichte, Hagar mit der Diatheke vom Sinai zu verbinden, dunkel bleiben".

⁽³⁴⁾ In regard to the question of whether Paul presents his readers with an allegory or a typology see MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief*, 320, n. 20, who writes, "Eine eindeutige Entscheidung darüber, ob Typologie oder Allegorie, ist u. E. nicht möglich". See also OEPKE, *Galater*, 111. For a concise discussion see BETZ, *Galatians*, 239.

⁽³⁵⁾ Another example where Paul appears to be drawing upon a targumic tradition is found in Gal 4,29. Verse 29 narrates that Ishmael persecuted (ἐδίωκεν) Isaac. The Masoretic text does not speak of any persecution of Isaac by Ishmael. R. LE DÉAUT, "Traditions targumiques dans le corpus paulinien?", *Bib* 42 (1961) 28-48, especially 37-43, points out that the *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* is aware of a tradition similar to that used by Paul. In *Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 22,1 Isaac and Ishmael are disputing (נִדְּבָ) with each other concerning their inheritance. Also MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief*, 330, is of the opinion that the word διώκειν in verse 29 urges one to think of an argument between Ishmael and Isaac such as that found in *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* and that Paul was acquainted with it "from the targumic tradition". Moreover, Mussner observes that *Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 22 deals with the themes of ancestry, birthright, inheritance and circumcision that are also echoed in Gal 4,21-31 and its immediate context.

dition and his cryptic sentence in verse 25a, "now the word Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia" is a play on the words found in the targumic tradition of the Gen 16 story. The tradition narrates that the angel found Hagar "by the spring on the road to Hagra". But the Hagar/Hagra tradition also gives Paul the *tertium comparationis* of the allegory, slavery, and introduces into the allegory a divine dimension. In the targumic tradition the angel conveys God's judgement to Hagar that she is to be enslaved and by divine judgement the children of Abraham have no need of the children of Hagar. The authority of God's judgement in the targumic Hagar/Hagra tradition adds divine support to the scripture passage cited in verse 30⁽³⁶⁾ where Sarah calls for the exclusion of the slave woman with her son and confirms Paul's conclusion, "... we are not children of a slave woman but of the free woman" (Gal 4,31).

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⁽³⁶⁾ In regard to verse 30 OEPKE, *Galater*, 115, notes: "Die Entscheidung der Schrift dh Gottes entnimmt Pls aus Gn 21,10. Dort redet allerdings Sara. Aber Gott macht ihren Willen zu dem seinen (v 12). Hagar, dh das ungläubige Israel, wird ausgestossen und vom (messianischen) Erbe ausgeschlossen (vgl 1 Th 2,14-16). Später urteilt Pls milder und hofft sogar für ganz Israel auf Rettung (Rm 11, 1ff. 25ff)". See also BETZ, *Galatians*, 251. MUSSNER, *Der Galaterbrief*, 332, n. 79, is of a different opinion.

The Genealogies of Genesis 1-11 and Comparative Literature⁽¹⁾

Approaches making use of anthropological, literary, and comparative Ancient Near Eastern data have been applied to the study of the genealogies in Gen 1-11⁽²⁾. There has been a tendency to make the assumption that it is possible to characterize a genre of literature or of communication and to call it genealogy, without sufficient attention to the question of what constitutes a genealogy⁽³⁾. The problem with this approach is that it too easily groups

(1) Research for this paper was done as part of the Genesis 1-11 Project, Tyndale House, Cambridge, England. I thank A. R. Millard and D. T. Tsumura for reading and commenting on it. A draft of this paper was read at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Chicago, 21 November 1988.

(2) Recent studies include J. GABRIEL, "Die Kainitengenealogie", *Bib* 40 (1959) 409-427; D. NEIMAN, "The Date and Circumstances of the Cursing of Canaan", *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (ed. A. ALTMANN) (Studies and Texts 3; Cambridge, MA 1966) 113-134; *ibid.*, "The Two Genealogies of Japhet", *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. H. A. HOFFNER, Jr.) (AOAT 22; Kevelaer - Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973) 119-126; A. MALAMAT, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies", *JAOS* 88 (1968) 163-173; M. D. JOHNSON, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (SNTSMS 8; Cambridge 1969); F. V. WINNETT, "The Arabian Genealogies in the Book of Genesis", *Translating and Understanding the Old Testament* (eds. H. T. FRANK - W. L. REED) (Nashville - New York 1970) 171-196; T. C. HARTMAN, "Some Thoughts on the Sumerian King List and Genesis 5 and 11b", *JBL* 91 (1972) 25-32; J. M. MILLER, "The Descendants of Cain: Notes on Genesis 4", *ZAW* 86 (1974) 164-174; C. WESTERMANN, *Genesis. I. Teilband Genesis 1-11* (BKAT I/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1974) 8-24; R. R. WILSON, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research", *JBL* 94 (1975) 169-189; G. F. HASEL, "The Genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 and Their Alleged Babylonian Background", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 (1978) 361-374; J. M. SASSON, "A Genealogical 'Convention' in Biblical Chronography?", *ZAW* 90 (1978) 171-185; R. R. ROBINSON, "Literary Functions of the Genealogies of Genesis", *CBQ* 48 (1986) 595-608; D. T. BRYAN, "A Reevaluation of Gen 4 and 5 in Light of Recent Studies in Genealogical Fluidity", *ZAW* 99 (1987) 180-188.

(3) One study on the subject which provides a working definition of the term genealogy is that of R. R. WILSON, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (Yale Near Eastern Researches 7; New Haven - London 1977) 9: "a written or oral expression of the descent of a person or persons from an ancestor or ancestors". His distinction of segmented genealogies and linear genealogies will be used throughout the essay. Segmented genealogies are those with more than one line of descent, whereas linear ones have only one line of descent. Wilson's work is by far the most thorough and useful analysis of the anthropological and An-

together examples from various cultures on the basis of some similarities but tends to ignore the differences which may well be just as important. This is significant because it will be argued here that none of the comparative Ancient Near Eastern examples proposed by scholars actually have a precise parallel with any of the genealogical forms found in Gen 1-11. Further, it will be argued that the primary functions of the biblical genealogies are significantly different from those found in the Ancient Near Eastern examples. This is not to suggest that useful comparisons cannot be made and inferences drawn concerning the sort of environment in which the biblical genealogies emerged. In fact, the contrasts between the biblical and Ancient Near Eastern texts will provide a means for better understanding the former. It is, however, important to maintain that the differences require any specific conclusions about their value and purpose to be controlled by the contextual data rather than the comparative⁽⁴⁾. Some consideration will also be given to recent comparisons made between Gen 10 and Greek genealogies. Similar conclusions will be argued for these studies.

1. *Formal Characteristics of the Genealogies of Genesis 1-11*

The method used to study genealogies in Gen 1-11 will examine those texts where proper names are found and kinship relationships are noted between the name bearers. Although any such notice may technically constitute something of a genealogy, the focus will be on notices of kinship relations which occur more than once in a predictable pattern. Such constructions provide the dominant means of expressing genealogical relations and form a basis for comparison with repeated patterns of kinship relations which may be found in Ancient Near Eastern texts.

Genealogical forms which are repeated occur in Gen 4, 5, 10, and 11. In each of these chapters there is one form which recurs in a predictable pattern, and each of these four forms is distinct.

In Gen 4 the only recurrent form is found in v. 18: PN₂-אָתָּךְ PN₁, "And PN₁ begot PN₂"⁽⁵⁾. This form appears three times in a linear genealogy covering four generations. Scholars also find a second (J) genealogy in 4,25-26⁽⁶⁾. However, there is no repetitive form to the Sethite genealogy in 4,25-26. In fact, it records a total of three generations, less than half of any of the other linear genealogies in Gen 1-11. Further, half of these two vv. is taken up with notices which are not genealogical. Finally, the obvious parallel of the first part of v. 25 with that of v. 1 suggests that we have here a

cient Near Eastern data presently available. See also HASEL, "The Genealogies of Gen 5 and 11", 368, for a similar definition of a biblical genealogy.

⁽⁴⁾ See the review of WILSON, *Genealogy*, by W. G. LAMBERT, *JNES* 39 (1980) 75-77.

⁽⁵⁾ For the relationship of this genealogy with the literary context of Gen 4, see G. WALLIS, "Die Stadt in den Überlieferungen der Genesis", *ZAW* 78 (1966) 133-141. For a suggestion as to its relationship with Gen 6, see GABRIEL, "Die Kainitengenealogie", 422-427.

⁽⁶⁾ WESTERMANN, *Genesis*, 439; WILSON, *Genealogy*, 138-148.

notice which brings to an end the record of the immediate offspring of Adam. Therefore, it would seem that, if this is to be understood as a genealogy, it is a segmented one beginning with v. 1 and interrupted by lengthy notes. If this is the case, then one should regard all of Gen 1-11 as a segmented genealogy. Such may indeed be true. The point here, however, is that 4,25-26 should not be considered as a genealogy in itself but rather as part of a larger genealogy if it is to be studied with reference to its form as a genealogy. This is not true of the genealogy in 4,18 which may stand on its own, with a repeated pattern of a genealogical relationship which does not appear elsewhere.

This example illustrates the problem of identifying the genre of genealogy. Even within the biblical text of Gen 1-11 there is a great variety in the form of what may be identified as genealogy. For purposes of this discussion it was therefore felt best to limit the consideration of the forms of genealogies to those clearly repetitive patterns which serve as links between generations.

The form in Gen 5 recurs, with some interruptions and modifications in the narratives of Enoch and Lamech(7), in vv. 3-31:

PN₂-אֶת־יִלְדָּה x שָׁנָה y PN₁-וַיְחִי
 וַיְחִי־אֶחָד־הַבָּנִים y PN₂-אֶת־יִלְדָּהוּ PN₁-וַיְחִי
 וַיְחִי־בָנִים וּבָנוֹת
 וַיְחִי־כָל־יְמֵי־PN₁-שָׁנָה x + y PN₁-וַיָּמָת

And PN₁ lived x years and begot PN₂

And PN₁ lived, after he begot PN₂, y years

And he (PN₁) begot sons and daughters

And all the days of PN₁ were x + y years and he died.

This form appears nine times in a linear genealogy covering ten generations. It is interrupted in the first, seventh, and ninth appearances.

In Gen 10 a segmented genealogy occurs. There is much variation(8). However, there is one form which dominates. It appears eight times in vv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 (twice), 22, and 23: PN_x . PN₂ PN₁ וַיְבָרֶךְ (9) "(And) the sons of PN₁ were PN₂ . PN_x" [where x is the number of descendants plus one]. The conjunctive waw is missing between the second and third name of the descendants in the form which appears in v. 4. The initial waw appears in all occurrences of the form except the first (Japheth) and the sixth (Shem). The number of descendants in each form may number anywhere from two to

(7) For these modifications as part of the narrative form used to place this genealogy within the context of Gen 1-11, see T. L. THOMPSON, *The Origin Tradition of Ancient Israel. I. The Literary Formation of Genesis and Exodus 1-23*. (JSOTSS 55; Sheffield 1987) 74.

(8) For comments on the overall structure of this chapter, see J. SIMONS, "The 'Table of Nations' (Gen. X): Its General Structure and Meaning", *Oudtestamentische Studien* 10 (1954) 154-184; D. J. WISEMAN, "Genesis 10: Some Archaeological Considerations", *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 87 (1955) 14-24; WESTERMANN, *Genesis*, 665-670; B. ODED, "The Table of Nations (Genesis 10) — A Socio-cultural Approach", *ZAW* 98 (1986) 14-31.

seven. The form is used for each of the three sons of Noah and may or may not be used in the subsequent generation. It is not used for any figure more than two generations removed from Noah.

The form in Gen 11 recurs without interruption but with a minor variation in vv. 12-25:

PN₂-אֶת-שָׁנָה x PN₁-וַיְהִי
וַיְהִי-PN₁ אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת-שָׁנָה y PN₂-אֶת-שָׁנָה
וַיְהִי בָנִים וּבָנוֹת

And PN₁ lived x years and begot PN₂
And PN₁ lived, after he begot PN₂, y years
And he (PN₁) begot sons and daughters.

The variation appears in vv. 12 and 14 where the first two occurrences of the form replace the initial verb with the verbal form וַיְהִי, and position this after the initial PN₁. This form appears seven times in a linear genealogy covering eight generations. Its similarity with the form in Gen 5 is obvious, although Gen 11 omits the final statement totaling the number of years and recording the death of PN₁. It should also be noted that Gen 11,10-11 has a form similar to the one which recurs in vv. 12-25, but there are variations and additions.

With these forms of the biblical genealogies noted, we may now turn to the Ancient Near Eastern genealogies which also have repetitive forms and observe the similarities and differences.

2. *Genesis 1-11 and Ancient Near Eastern King Lists*

a. Formal Comparisons

Sumerian and Akkadian king lists have provided the major sources for comparative study. Thus the Sumerian King List is often examined⁽⁹⁾. But here there are no regular genealogical notices. Those which do appear are sporadic, and their form tends to use the relational term "son", which does not appear in the forms of the biblical genealogies. The list of the rulers of Lagash adds no new examples to those found in the Sumerian King List⁽¹⁰⁾. The Assyrian King List⁽¹¹⁾ texts include sections with a formal statement of a

⁽⁹⁾ WILSON, *Genealogy*, 73-83. See HARTMAN, "Some Thoughts", 25-32. Hartman draws additional distinctions between the Sumerian King List and the genealogies of Gen on the basis of differences in purposes and of the ten-generation genealogical pattern for West Semitic genealogies. For the former, Hartman refers to B. MAZAR, "The Historical Background of the Book of Genesis", *JNES* 28 (1969) 73-83. For the latter, see MALAMAT, "King Lists", 163-173.

⁽¹⁰⁾ T. JACOBSEN, *The Sumerian King List* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Assyriological Studies 11; Chicago 1939); E. SOLLBERGER, "The Rulers of Lagash", *JCS* 21 (1967) 279-291; HARTMAN, "Some Thoughts"; WILSON, *Genealogy*, 83-86.

⁽¹¹⁾ I. J. GELB, "Two Assyrian King Lists", *JNES* 13 (1954) 209-230; B. LANDSBERGER, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter'", *JCS* 8 (1954)

relational nature following each name. The relational term used is always that of "son". That this king list is clearly composed of earlier lists which were separate is demonstrated by the lack of common form except in certain sections of it. The Babylonian King list⁽¹²⁾ also seems to be composed of several dynasties, which were contemporaneous historically. Sporadic genealogical notices here as well use only relational terms denoting sonship.

The genealogy of the Hammurabi dynasty is considered to be of special importance⁽¹³⁾. This is because, of all the Sumerian and Akkadian king lists, this list preserves a record of the early rulers in the line which preceded Hammurabi and his Amorite dynasty in Babylon. Because the Amorites are thought to have been related to the West Semitic peoples of whom the Hebrews were one, it is thought to have the closest relation with the Hebrew genealogies of any of the genealogies from these cuneiform sources. The form of this king list involves the listing of names of each of the rulers with no intervening comment, no expression of kinship⁽¹⁴⁾. Correspondences in the names with the Assyrian King List and with the Babylonian King List confirm that this is a list of kings although there are discrepancies concerning the order and some names are conflated. It is clear from these comparisons that this king list is a composite. The comments which follow the list of names suggest that this text was used in a cultic context and designed for invoking or honoring these royal ancestors of the present ruler⁽¹⁵⁾.

Wilson has provided a convenient catalog of other Ancient Near Eastern genealogies⁽¹⁶⁾. These include those royal genealogies found in cuneiform inscriptions. Of these, there are none whose form resembles any found in the biblical examples noted above. They are linear and tend to begin with the latest generation. The relational terms tend to be "son" and "grandson". Non-royal genealogies which are only one or two generations, as well as those priestly genealogies which can be much longer, employ relational formulas which use kinship terms describing sonship or descent. This is true of the short genealogical notices found at Ugarit, of the longer Phoenician and Punic genealogies, and of those kinship notices which can be found in

31-45, 47-73, 106-133; WILSON, *Genealogy*, 86-101. See also the discussion of the Old Assyrian king list below under note 24.

⁽¹²⁾ ANET, 271-272; WILSON, *Genealogy*, 101-107.

⁽¹³⁾ The original publication is that of J. J. FINKELSTEIN, "The Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty", *JCS* 20 (1966) 95-118. See also W. G. LAMBERT, "Another Look at Hammurabi's Dynasty", *JCS* 22 (1968) 1-2; MALAMAT, "King Lists", 163-173; WILSON, "The Old Testament Genealogies", 173-177, 185-188; *ibid.*, *Genealogy*, 108-114.

⁽¹⁴⁾ WILSON, "The Old Testament Genealogies", 185, observes the lack of kinship terms in this text disqualify it from the designation, genealogy, according to his definition.

⁽¹⁵⁾ W. G. LAMBERT, "The Seed of Kingship", *Le palais et la royauté (archéologie et civilisation): XIX^e R.A.I. Paris, 21 juin-2 juillet 1971* (ed. P. GARELLI) (Paris 1974) 427-440; argues that the Amorites introduced the use of king lists to establish legitimacy to the throne. The third millennium king lists were not used for this purpose. For additional discussion of this ritual, see below.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Genealogy*, 57-72, 114-132.

genealogies from Hebrew, Moabite, Aramaic, Egyptian, and Pre-Islamic Arabic sources.

Of additional interest for comparison are the *apkallu*, cultural founders who appear in Mesopotamian tradition⁽¹⁷⁾. They are associated particularly with kings before the flood. The relationship is such that one *apkallu* is associated with each king⁽¹⁸⁾. They are not portrayed as genealogically related, either to each other or to the kings with whom they are associated. Thus there is no genealogy of *apkallu*. On the other hand many of the kings in the king lists which are often used for comparison also have no genealogical association. There are seven *apkallu* occupying seven generations before the flood. The genealogy of Gen 4,17-22 also includes seven generations.

Some of the *apkallu* have names which are similar to the kings to whom they correspond in the Sumerian King list. Thus, in the same king list, there are two simultaneous lists, those of the antediluvian kings and those of their corresponding *apkallu*. There is no evidence that both lists derive from the same original list. The two serve different functions and include names that are clearly distinct. Thus it is not satisfactory to assume that Gen 4 and 5 preserve two variations of the same genealogy simply because some of the names in each of the chapters are similar in their spelling⁽¹⁹⁾. In fact, it is consistent with the Mesopotamian account to note that two groups of antediluvian figures exist, each with a representative for each generation, and that

⁽¹⁷⁾ H. ZIMMERN, "Urkönige und Uroffenbarung", *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (ed. E. SCHRADER) (Berlin 1903) 530-543; E. REINER, "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages'", *Or NS* 30 (1961) 1-11; R. BORGER, "Die Beschwörungsserie *Bit Mēseri* und die Himmelfahrt Henochs", *JNES* 33 (1974) 183-196; WESTERMANN, *Genesis*, 341-342; WILSON, *Genealogy*, 150-158; J. C. VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQ Monograph Series 16; Washington, D.C. 1984) 45-51. Various Mesopotamian cities seem to have possessed their own set of seven *apkallu*. See H. and J. LEWY, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar", *HUCA* 17 (1942-1943) 40-41.

⁽¹⁸⁾ These relationships are not attested before the Neo-Assyrian period. For a historical survey of the development of the tradition, see, in addition to the references above, W. W. HALLO, "Antediluvian Cities", *JCS* 20 (1970) 62.

⁽¹⁹⁾ This point has also been made by, among others, J. J. FINKELSTEIN, "The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet", *JCS* 17 (1963) 50, n. 41; HALLO, "Antediluvian Cities", 63; HARTMAN, "Some Thoughts", 28, n. 10; and BRYAN, "A Reevaluation", 180-188. These comparisons must be treated with caution, however. As Finkelstein observes, only three of the seven antediluvian *apkallu* have parts of names which sound like those of the corresponding kings, and only one of these three has a name (Enmegalamma) which sounds like the entire name of the corresponding king (Anmegalananna). Even here the correspondence is not exact. In the Gen genealogies of chapters 4 and 5, however, all of the six names in the genealogy of chapter 4 correspond to ones in chapter 5 in terms of sounding similar. Of these, two (Enoch and Lamech; Adam too if we count the common ancestor) have names which are spelled exactly alike. Thus the similarities are much greater and include the same spellings, a phenomenon not found with the *apkallu*.

these groups are understood to preserve the names of different individuals, despite the similarities of names between the groups⁽²⁰⁾.

b. Formal Contrasts

This study has brought out a number of significant distinctions between the form of written genealogies found throughout the Ancient Near East and those found in Gen 1-11. The first contrast to be made is that segmented genealogies are quite rare, and so nothing on the order of the Table of Nations in Gen 10 is found for comparison⁽²¹⁾.

The second contrast is that almost all the longer genealogies of the Ancient Near East are concerned with the succession of office holders, usually kings but also priests and scribes. This is in contrast to the lists of Gen 4, 5, and 11. Political offices or land holdings do not seem to be involved in the genealogies of Gen 1-11. The one exception may be Gen 10 where various tribes seem to inhabit specific areas of the world. The degree to which this

⁽²⁰⁾ It may be useful here to note WILSON's (*Genealogy*, 28-37, 46-55) observations on fluidity, which he finds to be particularly a trait of oral genealogies. Fluidity in genealogies is something which may be controlled by a secret group or, in most societies, the lineage elders, who openly discuss it. They cannot invent their own genealogy but choose one of the existing variants on the basis of what information they can remember, and on the basis of contemporary social relations. Three major types of changes may occur: 1. Change in relationship of the names. 2. Change in structure of the lineage, including the addition of names or segments. 3. Disappearance of names and telescoping. Such fluidity does not occur in the Hebrew biblical text of Gen 1-11 in a demonstrable way. The argument that Eve and Adam have Cain as their eldest son in Gen 4 and Seth in Gen 5 has no basis in any statement in the text. It rests on the assumption that linear genealogies must involve the eldest son — an assumption which cannot be proven for Genesis. Unfortunately, Wilson's preoccupation with putative source critical assumptions in the genealogies of Gen 4 and 5 has caused him to overlook the implications of this similarity in names and instead to opt for a discussion of fluidity between the lists which allows him to incorporate assumed parallels with his anthropological findings. See also MILLER, "The Descendants of Cain", 171-173, who, noting similarities between parts of the Hammurabi and the Assyrian king lists, argues for a "stock genealogy" as the common source of the similar genealogies of the J and P writers in Gen 4 and 5. The facts that (1) two different sets of similar names have been identified, those of the *apkallu* and the Sumerian King List and those of the Hammurabi and Assyrian king lists, and that (2) each of these similarities reflects a different origin (the former in at least two separate sources; the latter in a single common source) implies the need to exercise reserve in using either approach to demonstrate the origins of the similarities in Gen 4 and 5. There is something of a fluidity when the names in the MT are compared with those in LXX and other versions as well as in the NT. For example, we see the addition of a name, Kenan, in Gen 11. For an explanation of this phenomenon as an attempt to reckon Abraham as twenty-first from Adam, see SASSON, "A Genealogical 'Convention'", 177.

⁽²¹⁾ This is not true for genealogies in other biblical texts, where segmented examples are common. See A. MALAMAT, "Tribal Societies: Biblical Genealogies and African Lineage Systems", *Archives européennes de sociologie* 14 (1973) 126-136; T. J. PREWITT, "Kinship Structures and the Genesis Genealogies", *JNES* 40 (1981) 87-98. For the implications of Gen 10 as unique in terms of its universal outlook, see HASEL, "The Genealogies of Gen 5 and 11", 369-370.

was used to justify the habitation of these areas is unknown, however. Religious functions do not apply here in so far as they concern individuals or guilds and the genealogies of Gen 1-11 lead ultimately to tribes and nations. The possibility of an ancestor cult may be suggested by the genealogies but that may be called into question with the observation that as many negative features as positive ones are portrayed in the ancestors named in these chapters. In contrast to the Ancient Near Eastern genealogies, those of Gen 1-11 are uniformly concerned with ancestral lines which involve relationships that are only those of kinship, i.e. of father and son or of father and descendant⁽²²⁾.

Tied closely with the matter of office is that of status. A purpose of Ancient Near Eastern genealogies, as well as those from other cultures, is to give a certain status to a leader or official. This is not true within Gen 1-11. There each genealogy seems to end with figures who perform acts which bring about condemnation not status. Thus Gen 4 ends with Lamech's murders. Gen 5 ends with the condemnation of humanity in the Flood. Although Noah receives special notice as righteous, even his story terminates in Gen 9 with the curse of his offspring. Gen 10 seems to include the ancestry of the entire known world so that the figures here receive no special status in so far as status is some sort of favorable distinction in comparison with other persons. Gen 11 is unique in that it leads to Gen 12 and the unqualified promise of blessing to Abram. Yet Genesis portrays Abraham himself as part of a genealogy which consummates in the ancestors of Israel. Thus a nation rather than an individual ultimately receives status by the genealogies.

Third, although some of the king lists include numbers recording lengths of reign and although these numbers are incredibly large, the length of years lived and the age at which the next figure named was begotten is never recorded in the Ancient Near Eastern king lists. This is in contrast to the biblical genealogies for whom the only purposes in using numbers seems to be that of recording the lifespan of each name bearer and the age at which he begot the next name bearer. However these numbers are to be understood, they play a significantly different role in the two sets of genealogies⁽²³⁾.

Finally, there is a fundamental difference in the orientation of the genealogies in the Ancient Near East and those in Genesis, particularly chapters 4, 5, and 11. In the former the use of the kinship term "son" in describing the relation between generations (and this is only occasionally used) gives the genealogies an impression of direction that moves from the latest generation

⁽²²⁾ For the focus of Gen upon people, rather than gods and kings, see WESTERMANN, *Genesis*, 11-12. WESTERMANN, 472, also notes this and the remaining differences. See further, HASEL, "The Genealogies of Gen 5 and 11", 365-367. Unlike the present study, which centers around the form of the genealogy, Hasel compares and contrasts the king list - flood - king list sequence of the Sumerian King list with that of Gen 5-11.

⁽²³⁾ This is true despite a common decline in lengths of reign for some of the figures on the Sumerian King List and for the lengths of lifespan in Gen. See HARTMAN, "Some Thoughts", 30-31.

to the earliest⁽²⁴⁾. In the biblical genealogies of Gen 4, 5, and 11, no such term as "son" is ever used in the formulas to describe the kinship relations between each generation. It only appears in Gen 5 and 11 to describe the birth of additional sons and daughters. But the focus in relations between generations is one of the father begetting the son⁽²⁵⁾. This means there is a genealogical movement from the earliest ancestor to the latest, the opposite of that of the other genealogies in the Ancient Near East.

c. Functional Implications

These distinctions reflect different functions in the biblical genealogies as compared with those of the Ancient Near East. The biblical emphasis upon the figures as human beings, with the functions of begetting and eventually dying, suggests that no ancestral cult is to be found here⁽²⁶⁾. The absence of

⁽²⁴⁾ This impression may exist even where the overall genealogy moves forward in time. For example, the Old Assyrian king list is a composite of several lists, with each list intended as the chronological successor to the previous one. The first list is a group of names with no comment other than "total of 17 kings who dwelled in tents". The second list of names has each name followed by "son of" (DUMU) and the name of the previous king on the list (plus a note as to how many years the figure ruled). Thus the list moves chronologically backwards from the latest king to the earliest. After another list, primarily of names only, the remaining king lists are structured so that (usually) each name is followed by "son of" (DUMU) and the name of the previous king on the list (plus a note as to how many years the figure ruled). Thus the king list moves forward with each new name succeeding the previous ruler. However, the expression "son of PN" has an effect of always pulling the reader back to the previous generation before moving forward. Although "x son of y" may be a customary means of identification here serving to establish a legitimacy to the throne, the cumulative effect of these repetitions is to always push the reader's attention to the earlier generation, even while moving forward in time. For the text and translation, cf. GELB, "Two Assyrian King Lists", 209-230.

⁽²⁵⁾ Although the verb, "to beget", and the Toledot expressions share a common root, their usages in Gen have become distinct, with the latter appearing at turning points in the overall story (Scharbert) and implying divine blessing (Weimar). See J. SCHARBERT, "Der Sinn der Toledot-Formel in der Priesterschrift", *Wort - Gebot - Glaube: Walter Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag* (eds. H. J. STOEBE - J. J. STAMM - E. JENNI) (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 59; Zürich 1970) 45-56; F. M. CROSS, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA 1973) 302-305; P. WEIMAR, "Die Toledot-Formel in der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung", *BZ NF* 18 (1974) 65-93; J. SCHREINER, "לד, *jālad*", *TWAT* III 4/5 (1980) 633-639; S. TENGSTRÖM, *Die Toledotformel und die literarische Struktur der priesterschriftlichen Erweiterungsschicht im Pentateuch* (Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series 17; Uppsala 1981).

⁽²⁶⁾ This function is tied closely with the two West Semitic king lists which have been discovered from the second millennium BC, the Hammurabi genealogy already mentioned above and the king list from Ugarit. For the latter, see K. A. KITCHEN, "The King List of Ugarit", *UF* 9 (1977) 131-142. On the tablets of both of these lists there appears a ritual which has been associated with the honoring of the dead kings and with reverencing them as divine. For discussion of the kispu ritual in general as well as its presence in the text from Ugarit, see, in addition to FINKELSTEIN, "The Genealogy", 95-118; MALAMAT, "King Lists",

any reference to a common office or profession moves these genealogies away from functions involving royal cults or guilds. The movement from earlier to later in the biblical genealogies is one which separates the perceptions which the keepers and readers of these genealogies held of themselves. Is this because the king lists and genealogies of the Ancient Near East directed their readers to seek in the past for the ideal and for the sources of help? Did they find meaning in the present by repeating the past? If so, there is a contrast with the biblical genealogies which saw no ideal among their past members. To the contrary, the narrative notes and sections reveal failure as much or more than they reveal success. So the genealogies push the reader forward in history⁽²⁷⁾, recognizing that the past must be learned from, but that the challenges of the present require that former failures not be repeated. Finally, whatever else the Table of Nations in Gen 10 should emphasize, it is clear from its context in Gen 1-11 that it points to the common humanity of all peoples, who share in the failures and hopes of a common ancestry, and ultimately in a common creation in the image of God⁽²⁸⁾.

It seems in order to conclude with the observations made at the beginning of this essay. In addition to questions which may arise from literary studies in terms of identifying where genealogies may be found in Gen 1-11 and where they begin and end; there is also the problem of attempting to compare what are primarily Ancient Near Eastern king lists with the genealogies. The differences in the form and function of these two collections of texts suggest that attempts to make comparisons proceed with caution and that the context of the texts themselves, within their particular literary and cultural world, be the controlling factor in interpretation.

163-173; WILSON, "The Old Testament Genealogies", 174, 186; *ibid.*, *Genealogy*, 108-114; also W. T. PITARD, "The Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126", *BASOR* 232 (1978) 65-75; J. F. HEALEY, "The Immortality of the King: Ugarit and the Psalms", *Or NS* 53 (1984) 245-254; *ibid.*, "The Ugaritic Dead: Some Live Issues", *UF* 18 (1986) 27-32; A. TSUKIMOTO, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) in alten Mesopotamien* (AOAT 216; Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985); K. SPRONK, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219; Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1986) 139-236.

⁽²⁷⁾ For the forward movement of the genealogies as part of their literary function in the context of the narratives of Genesis, see D. J. A. CLINES, "Theme in Genesis 1-11", *CBQ* 38 (1976) 491-494; M. FISHBANE, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York 1979) 27-39; ROBINSON, "Literary Functions", 595-608. JOHNSON, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 3-36, discusses the genealogies within the confines of the sources J and P. Does the use of qal and niph'al verbal forms of יָרָא in the genealogy of chapter 4, as opposed to the predominance of hiph'il forms in Gen 5 and 11 (see GABRIEL, "Die Kainitengenealogie", 421), reflect a value judgment upon the two genealogies? But see WESTERMANN, *Genesis*, 23-24, 465-467, for the relation of this movement to the commission and blessing of Gen 1,28, "Be fruitful and multiply", and for a positive evaluation of Gen 4,17-26.

⁽²⁸⁾ WESTERMANN, *Genesis*, 704-706.

3. *Genesis 1-11 and the Greek Catalogue of Women*

Recent publications have drawn attention to formal similarities between the biblical genealogies and a Greek work known as the Catalogue of Women⁽²⁹⁾. Although attributed to Hesiod, the critical analysis of M. L. West has found the final redaction to date from the sixth century BC with ancient (oral) sources reaching back well before the eighth century BC. As reconstructed, the Catalogue describes the unions of male deities and mortal women. It traces these lines, with the addition of narrative glosses, as far as the Trojan War at which point events take place which separate the demigod offspring from the mortals. What remains, however, provides the background for the names of cities and regions throughout the Greek-speaking world and beyond.

Although parallels between this material and various parts of Genesis have been noted⁽³⁰⁾, the interest of this study lies primarily with Gen 10 and the formal similarities observed between it and the Greek Catalogue. Four such similarities have been noted. First, both are segmented⁽³¹⁾. Second, both have an international scope⁽³²⁾. Third, "both contain genealogies of geographic and ethnic eponyms, the major ancestral line (or lines) of the people as a whole, and the heroic stories, all within a unified genealogical

⁽²⁹⁾ M. L. WEST, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Its Nature, Structure, and Origins* (Oxford 1985) 13; J. VAN SETERS, "The Primeval Histories of Greece and Israel Compared", *ZAW* 100 (1988) 1-22.

⁽³⁰⁾ VAN SETERS, "The Primeval Histories", 9-15, on the basis of the similarities with narrative inclusions in the Catalogue and the reference to divine-human unions, argues for a sixth-century J source whose narratives in chapter 6, 9, and 11, as well as much of chapter 10 and a Shem-to-Abram genealogy, were joined with Gen 12ff. to form a unity. This coherence reflects the unique "Western antiquarian tradition" with its emphasis on the migration and settlement of ancestors who become nations; something not found in Ancient Near Eastern primeval histories (*ibid.*, 19). Two observations may be in order. First, the interdependence of J and P, with J as the primary source and P as editorial comment, which (as van Seters observes) has been argued by TENGSTRÖM, *Die Toledotformel*, 25-31, requires a reconsideration of the whole process. See also C. SAVASTA, "Alcune considerazioni sulla lista dei discendenti dei figli de Noè", *RivB* 17 (1969) 89-102, 337-363. Note, however, F. H. CRYER, "The Interrelationships of Gen 5,32; 11,10-11 and the Chronology of the Flood (Gen 6-9)", *Bib* 66 (1985) 241-260. See G. J. WENHAM, *Genesis 1-15* (Word Biblical Commentary 1; Waco, TX 1987) 214-215, who here and elsewhere in Genesis posits J as drawing together an earlier P and other sources. Thus Wenham can argue (as does van Seters) that all of 10, 1 belongs to J. Second, the observation on the unique Western tradition of migration and settlement of ancestors who become nations requires qualification. One need go no farther than West's own comparative discussion to find other nations (e.g. Armenian and African, *The Hesiodic Catalogue*, 21, 25-26) whose genealogies include accounts of migration and settlement by ancestors. The practice seems instead to reflect perceived origins of peoples and their ways of life. In the case of Greek traditions, this is associated with seafaring. In the case of Israelite traditions, it is grounded (at least partially) in nomadic wanderings on land. In Mesopotamian tradition, it is based in urban culture.

⁽³¹⁾ WEST, *The Hesiodic Catalogue*, 13, uses the term "multilinearity".

⁽³²⁾ *Ibid.*, 13-15.

structure”⁽³³⁾. Fourth, numbers, especially threes and sevens, recur in counting brothers, sons, and chiefs⁽³⁴⁾.

While important formal similarities appear to be present here, the following observations should be taken into consideration. First, as to genealogical segmentation, it is significant that West’s reconstruction demonstrates the existence of several different genealogies with independent starting points or ancestors⁽³⁵⁾. Thus these genealogies are not so much segmented as they are separate. This is unlike Gen 10 which explicitly traces all ancestry back to Noah.

Second, as to the international scope of the Catalogue, it embraces, other than the Greeks, “Egyptians, Phoenicians, Arabs, Scythians, Ethiopians, Libyans, and Pygmies, not to mention various mythical peoples”⁽³⁶⁾. Dated to the sixth century BC and primarily confined to one genealogy (Inachid), the functions of these international notices are: 1) to justify attachments between the Greek communities who lived in these lands and their neighbors; and 2) to trace elements of Greek civilization from the East. In comparison with Gen 10 it should be observed that the Greek Catalogue is much more restrictive in the number of nations mentioned, in their location, and in their general confinement to one genealogical branch. Gen 10 includes many more names of peoples and cities. Its geography extends farther south and east, without diminishing reaches to the north and west comparable to the Catalogue. Gen 10 “scatters” these nations through all branches of its genealogy. So varied is this dispersion that, while some patterns may be observed⁽³⁷⁾, enough exceptions remain to call into question attempts to identify a single pattern of distribution. Also, Gen 10 has not yielded any ethnic group clearly identifiable as mythical. Although there is reason to date many parts of the chapter much earlier, even a sixth century date would not justify a comparable function of serving to attach Jewish communities of the Diaspora to their neighbors. To the contrary, the post-exilic period was one in which the biblical authors identified Judaism through separation rather than integration. Finally, Gen 10 is concerned primarily with other nations. The line from Shem to Abram is traced only so far as is necessary to include these. Not until Gen 11 is that genealogical line completed. On the other hand, the Catalogue is concerned almost exclusively with Greek-speaking peoples. Only in a minor way does it mention other nations.

This leads to the third point which is posited as shared by both texts; the unified genealogical structure including eponyms and the major ancestral line of the people. The contrast has already been noted between the Catalogue, which contains separate genealogies unrelated by their origins, and Gen 10 with its common ancestry in Noah. Also observed has been the lack of a complete ancestral line from Shem to Abram in Gen 10. To these formal

⁽³³⁾ VAN SETERS, “The Primeval Histories”, 11.

⁽³⁴⁾ WEST, *The Hesiodic Catalogue*, 27-29.

⁽³⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁽³⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁽³⁷⁾ See SIMONS, “The ‘Table of Nations’”; WISEMAN, “Genesis 10”; ODED, “The Table of Nations”.

distinctions, a textual observation might be added. Gen 10 exists as a complete document well attested in manuscripts of the book. The Catalogue does not. The most recent critical edition provides a collection of 245 fragments gathered together in 120 pages with no fragment reaching five pages in length⁽³⁸⁾. No complete text is attempted, either in Greek or in transliteration. Thus, despite West's careful and insightful reconstruction⁽³⁹⁾, the text is fragmentary, its reconstruction hypothetical, and its gaps numerous.

The fourth point of comparison, appearances of groups of three and seven, also occurs in the genealogies of other peoples, as West has already noted⁽⁴⁰⁾.

Thus the comparisons between the Greek Catalogue of Women and the biblical Table of Nations are not as significant, formally or functionally, as might be supposed. Indeed, given the derivative and composite nature of the Catalogue, its primary focus upon the Greek peoples, and its secondary focus upon narratives and other nations, a better biblical comparison might be made with 1 Chr 1-9.

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This essay has attempted to demonstrate the distinctions which exist between the genealogies of Gen 1-11 and the king lists of the Ancient Near East as well as other types of literature which have been compared. While useful comparisons can be drawn between the forms of literature, the fact remains that these basic forms are different and that this difference is reflected in the purposes of the literature; purposes which thrust the lists of generations in two different directions. The king lists consistently suggest a backward movement in time, while the biblical genealogies move forward in time. This would suggest a different purpose for the two forms of literature. This also seems to be the case with the Table of Nations which remains distinct in terms of its breadth of scope.

It may be an oversimplification to see here evidence of a unique view of history and of racial equality at some point in ancient Israel. What is clear is that the comparative study of ancient literature forms only one part of the answer. Even the formal study of the biblical genealogies is not completely adequate. It is at once too broad and too narrow. It is too broad in that it ignores the basic components which form the genealogies, the personal names themselves. It is too narrow in that it fails to examine the narrative context of Gen 1-11 and how the genealogies fit therein. A full consideration of the significance of these texts requires three additional items: 1) a study of the

⁽³⁸⁾ R. MERKELBACH - M. L. WEST, eds., *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967) 1-120.

⁽³⁹⁾ Including a structural comparison with the later *Bibliothèque* of Apollodorus (*The Hesiodic Catalogue*, 44).

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Ibid., 28. This confirms the existence of such structuring devices but denies it as something unique in biblical or West Semitic genealogies (see SASSON, "A Genealogical 'Convention'"), perhaps in contrast to the number ten (see MALAMAT, "King Lists"; HARTMAN, "Some Thoughts").

personal names in terms of their place in the onomastic environment of the Ancient Near East; 2) a study of the purpose which the narrative elements of Gen 1-11 serve; and 3) a comparison of the relation between the names, the genealogical forms, and the narratives. Broadening the method to include comparative and contextual study of the onomastica as well as the narratives will provide the optimum perspective from which to view the place of the genealogies in Gen 1-11.

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Les textes hébreux de Judith et les étapes de la formation du livre⁽¹⁾

I. Le nouveau Schürer et les textes hébreux de Judith.

En 1973 a commencé de paraître un nouveau Schürer⁽²⁾; l'ouvrage classique d'E. Schürer a été de nouveau traduit en anglais; le texte a été revu, mis à jour, ou même refondu et complété (notamment pour les écrits de Qumrân, inconnus du premier auteur); la bibliographie a été partiellement élaguée et complétée jusqu'en 1983. Les éditeurs espèrent avoir ainsi fourni aux historiens futurs une base sûre pour leurs travaux ultérieurs.

La présente note ne vise pas à déprécier cette réalisation remarquable. Je m'en tiendrai exclusivement à un seul point, d'importance très secondaire par rapport à l'ampleur de la matière: l'authenticité ou l'originalité des textes hébreux (TH) de Judith, mots signifiant que ces textes ne sont pas une traduction de la Vulgate latine (Vg), ni une adaptation libre du texte grec (TG) des Septante, mais trois traductions ou adaptations d'un même modèle, peut-être araméen ou déjà hébreu, proche du texte chaldéen (araméen) qui servit à Jérôme pour établir le texte de Vg. J'ai soutenu cette thèse (en penchant plus que je ne ferais aujourd'hui pour un modèle araméen) dans une première publication: *Judith. Forme et sens des diverses traditions* (AnBib 24; Rome 1966), et j'y suis revenu dans deux articles de *Biblica* 50 (1969) 187-211 et 56 (1975) 503-511. La thèse a été admise par quelques recenseurs du livre *Judith*, rejetée par d'autres (voir *Biblica* 50 [1969] 197-198). Les motifs de rejet,

(¹) Dans cet article je reprends les abréviations employées dans des publications précédentes. TH: textes hébreux, longs parallèles à la Vulgate (Vg). B, C, D, E; types divers des TH. LXX: Septante à l'exception de Judith. TG: texte grec de Judith. VL: Version vieille latine. Dubarle (I ou II): *Judith. Forme et sens des diverses traditions*. Tome I: Études; tome II: Textes (AnBib 24; Rome 1966). *Biblica*, suivi d'une année, désigne deux articles publiés dans cette revue, «L'authenticité des textes hébreux de Judith», 1969. «Les textes hébreux de Judith: un nouveau signe d'originalité», 1975. Pour la commodité des renvois les TH ont reçu dans l'édition synoptique de Dubarle II la subdivision en chapitres et versets de Vg. La numérotation ne correspond pas exactement à celle de TG, les références sont données avec le chiffre arabe des chapitres pour TG et le chiffre romain pour TH et Vg.

(²) E. SCHÜRER. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*. A new English version revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman (Edinburgh 1973; 1979; 1986). L'original allemand, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesus Christ*, a paru en plusieurs éditions successives de 1886 à 1909, à chaque fois enrichies et corrigées.

souvent très superficiels, ont été examinés dans les deux articles de *Biblica*, qui ont aussi fourni de nouveaux indices d'originalité.

Le nouveau Schürer risque de rejeter dans un oubli définitif un élément du patrimoine biblique. Il est donc utile de mettre en lumière les inexactitudes et omissions qui ont provoqué ce rejet.

Le nouveau Schürer omet dans sa bibliographie les articles de *Biblica* 1969 et 1975 traitant expressément de l'originalité des TH. D'après lui, Dubarle écarte l'idée que l'hébreu soit une traduction de l'araméen (220), alors que j'ai parlé de probabilité d'une telle traduction et souhaité que des indices plus nombreux que ceux relevés par moi «transforment la probabilité en certitude» (Dubarle I, 74-76; *Biblica* 1969, 210)⁽³⁾.

Le nouveau Schürer déclare que Dubarle «n'a pas été capable de réfuter d'une manière convaincante la théorie que les textes médiévaux sont des rétroversions en hébreu faites probablement à partir de la Vulgate» (220). Le renvoi à Y. M. Grintz, qui suit immédiatement risque d'être trompeur pour le lecteur qui ne prendrait pas garde aux dates. Dans son livre *Sefer Yehudith*, de 1957, antérieur au mien de 1966, la thèse d'une rétroversion à partir de la Vulgate ne pouvait viser à démontrer l'échec d'une thèse opposée, non encore publiée, et l'*Encyclopaedia Judaica* en 1971⁽⁴⁾ se limitait à une simple affirmation en deux lignes. Le renvoi fait par le nouveau Schürer sans précisions peut facilement faire attendre le nom d'un auteur ayant montré que je n'avais pas réfuté efficacement la thèse de la rétroversion. Mais, probablement, le renvoi voulait simplement indiquer l'ouvrage où la thèse de la rétroversion avait été spécialement développée. Peut-être n'ai-je pas critiqué pied à pied tous les arguments de Grintz, bien que j'aie répondu à un bon nombre. Mais plutôt que de polémiquer continuellement, j'ai insisté surtout sur le fait que les trois TH, édités complètement pour la première fois en parallèle avec Vg sur quatre colonnes synoptiques, ne procédaient pas de Vg, car ils contenaient soit simultanément, soit en commun avec TG des éléments absents de Vg.

En résumé, bibliographie insuffisante⁽⁵⁾, renvoi risquant par son ambiguïté d'induire en erreur, opinion qui m'est faussement attribuée, jugement négatif ne s'appuyant sur aucune étude antécédente: le nouveau Schürer ne peut faire autorité sur le point précis examiné ici.

Les publications récentes⁽⁶⁾ sur la question de l'originalité des TH présentent des défauts analogues: omission totale ou partielle des articles de

⁽³⁾ Un recenseur de Dubarle, R. LE DÉAUT, familier des targums araméens, a pu écrire: «La couleur araméenne est donc très nette en B», avec exemples à l'appui; *Bib* 48 (1967) 316.

⁽⁴⁾ Y. M. GRINTZ, «Judith (Book of)», *EncJud* (Jerusalem 1971) 10, 459.

⁽⁵⁾ Plus grave que ce qui me concerne est l'omission des textes nombreux et différents de VL, édités par P. M. BOGAERT dans *RBén* de 1967 à 1978. Seul est nommé Sabatier en 1745.

⁽⁶⁾ M. S. ENSLIN, *The Book of Judith*, Greek Text with an English Translation. ... Edited with a General Introduction and Appendices by S. ZEITLIN (Jewish Apocryphal Literature 7; Leiden 1972) 47; J. C. DANCY, *The Shorter Books of Apocrypha* (Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge 1972) 71-72; M. DELCOR, «Les livres deutérocanoniques», *Introduction critique à l'Ancien Testament* sous la direction de H. CAZELLES (Paris 1973) 699; E. OSTY - J. TRINQUET, *La Bible*,

Biblica, inexactitude dans le résumé de ma position, absence de discussion sérieuse des arguments, remarque que l'intérêt de l'auteur se porte avant tout sur le TG.

Il serait fastidieux pour le lecteur de faire une revue détaillée de ce point précis dans des ouvrages qui, par ailleurs, ont de la valeur. Il sera plus fructueux de montrer comment ces TH, dont on n'a pas démontré le caractère tardif, contiennent des données permettant de reconstituer la formation progressive du livre de Judith de l'époque perse à l'époque maccabéenne, puis à la refonte assez radicale présentée par le TG. L'utilisation positive des TH sera peut-être plus efficace pour entraîner la conviction qu'une critique de la critique(?).

II. Deux projets de Nabuchodonosor

Diverses données conduisent les commentateurs à voir dans le livre biblique un encouragement offert aux Juifs fidèles dans la persécution religieuse d'Antiochus Épiphane.

Dans le récit des campagnes d'Holopherne il est dit que le commandant en chef avait reçu l'ordre d'exterminer tous les dieux indigènes, afin que Nabuchodonosor soit reconnu comme le seul dieu (3,8; III,13). Un seul texte fait exception, le TH E⁽⁸⁾. «Le roi Nabuchodonosor lui avait prescrit de soumettre toutes les provinces et tous les peuples et qu'il soit roi sur toute la terre» (TH E¹). Le TH E² offre une variante: «Son seigneur lui avait prescrit de soumettre toutes les provinces et de tuer leurs habitants pour qu'il règne sur toute la terre». Il n'y a pas de prétentions à des honneurs divins dans cette rédaction, ce qui peut suggérer une date antérieure à l'époque maccabéenne.

Dans toute ce qui précède il n'y a aucune indication sur ce projet de persécution religieuse. Nabuchodonosor combat le Mède Arphaxad, puis ap-

traduction française sur les textes originaux (Paris 1973) 950; R. HANHART, *Judith. Septuaginta* (Vetus Testamentum Graecum VIII, 4; Göttingen 1979) 16; id., *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Göttingen 1979) 10, n. 1; E. ZENGER, *Das Buch Judith* (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit I/6; Gütersloh 1980) 430; C. A. MOORE, *Judith. A new translation with introduction and commentary* (AB; New York 1985) 101-102. Je signale également un exposé exact de ma thèse, mais ne prenant pas parti dans un sens ou dans l'autre: J. F. CRAGHAN, «Judith revisited», *BTB* 12 (1982) 50.

(7) On peut rappeler que la découverte de fragments hébraïques de *Ben Sira* dans une synagogue du Caire en 1896 provoqua une controverse entre les partisans de l'originalité et ceux de la rétroversion. Les arguments de philologie ont été finalement départagés par les trouvailles plus récentes de Qumrân et Massada. Le nouveau Schürer donne un bon aperçu de cette discussion (III, 203-204).

(8) Le TH E est un texte parallèle à Vg jusqu'à la généalogie de Judith inclus (VIII,3). Il est alors suivi par un récit dans le style des midrachs. Il est conservé dans deux formes légèrement différentes, qui apparaissent comme deux abréviations distinctes d'un même texte plus complet. Un extrait encore plus court E³ est copié en marge du manuscrit de TH B¹. Beaucoup de versets présents dans TH B et C font défaut dans TH E. Pour plus de détails voir Dubarle I, 37-43.

pelle de nombreux peuples à se joindre à lui. Irrité par un refus unanime, il jure de se venger (1,12; 1,12) et de soumettre toute la terre à sa royauté, (2,1-3; TH B et C 11,1-3; manque dans E, souvent abrégé). Il donne des ordres en ce sens à Holopherne, chef de son armée.

D'autre part, TH E¹ présente, lui seul, un élément du récit qui n'est pas rigoureusement indispensable, mais qui coordonne mieux les épisodes successifs. La mission des envoyés de Nabuchodonosor est explicitée: demander le paiement d'un tribut annuel et la formation d'un corps expéditionnaire en vue d'une coalition navale contre Alexandre le Macédonien, le grand roi (1,10). Après avoir vaincu Arphaxad à l'orient, le roi de Ninive projette de se tourner contre l'occident⁽⁹⁾. Tous les autres TH, y compris E², omettent cette donnée.

Dans TG et VL Nabuchodonosor a déjà commencé de batailler contre Arphaxad et de nombreux peuples se sont rassemblés pour la guerre. Le roi d'Assour envoie alors à tous les habitants des pays depuis la Perse jusqu'à l'Éthiopie un message dont l'objet est passé sous silence (1,6-11). Après le refus général de combattre à ses côtés, Nabuchodonosor reprend les hostilités contre Arphaxad et en triomphe dans la dix-septième année de son règne (1,13-15). Dans les TH toute la campagne et l'envoi de messagers se sont passés dans la douzième année du règne et l'expédition d'Holopherne vers l'occident est décidée au début de la treizième année (1,5; 11,1).

Un seul témoin de VL, le codex *Complutensis*⁽¹⁰⁾ a gardé la trace du passage propre à TH E sur la demande de tribut et d'alliance que devaient transmettre les envoyés du roi de Ninive: «*uocans ad se omnes... dirigens legationem preparandi belli... presidium postulavit pugne*» (1,9-10). L'auteur de ce texte a compris comme un acte d'hostilité la rencontre de nombreuses nations avec Nabuchodonosor mentionnée précédemment (1,6 *adversum se*). D'où le besoin d'obtenir des auxiliaires contre cette coalition. Les mots supplémentaires propres à VL^x ne sont pas le fruit d'une libre imagination chez un copiste remaniant audacieusement ses modèles en vue d'une plus grande élégance littéraire. Il a eu connaissance d'une rédaction proche de TH E. Un autre indice d'un contact avec les TH se trouve à quelque distance (1,12) dans l'énumération: «*fines cilicie et damasci et scitium*», dans laquelle on reconnaît une séquence du TH B (1,7). Là où E porte: «aux habitants de Kityym et à Damas et au Liban», C porte; «aux habitants de Qylsy' et à Damas et au Liban», TH B porte quatre termes: «aux habitants de Sylsy'h et Damas et les habitants de Kityym et au Liban. Ce témoin a conservé le terme ancien de Kityym et adjoint l'interprétation plus récente qui l'a remplacé

⁽⁹⁾ Cette expédition contre Alexandre est peut-être une allusion anachronique aux guerres médiques (cf. Dn 11,2).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Ce manuscrit, VL^x, daté du 10^e siècle, a été édité par P. M. BOGAERT dans *RBén* 78 (1968) 7-32 et 181-212, avec une introduction et un commentaire de critique textuelle. Voir aussi les remarques du même auteur dans l'article «La Vieille Version latine de Judith dans la Bible d'Oxford», *Studia Patristica* X (éd. F. L. Cross) (TU 107; Berlin 1970) 208-214. L'auteur de cette révision du texte a utilisé plusieurs modèles. Il a cherché à remplacer les courtes phrases juxtaposées par des périodes plus longues. Son vocabulaire comporte des mots rares.

dans TH C, Vg, TG et VL⁽¹¹⁾. L'adaptateur responsable de VL^x n'a pas inventé *scitium*; il l'a trouvé dans un de ses modèles.

Dans la suite du récit TH E omet de mentionner la crainte éprouvée pour une profanation future du temple de Jérusalem, dont parlent les textes parallèles de TH B et C (iv,2; cf. 4,2). Il se borne à dire: «et il tomba sur eux crainte et grande terreur (Ex 15,16; omis par E²). TH E ne présente pas l'apostrophe violente d'Holopherne à Achior, qui a plaidé la cause des Israélites. Il ignore la conclusion: «pour que tu saches qu'il n'y a pas de dieu hormis Nabuchodonosor» (vi,2; cf. 6,2). Il reste toutefois le passage de v,29 (sans correspondant dans TG après 5,24): «afin que tous les peuples sachent que Nabuchodonosor le roi est le dieu de toute la terre» (même sens dans TH B et C). Mais à la teneur de E¹ s'oppose celle de E²: «afin que tous les peuples sachent que Nabuchodonosor est roi sur toute la terre». Le copiste de E¹ a selon toute probabilité suivi ce que présentent les textes parallèles de B et C, ou ajouté après coup une sorte de grosse flatterie dans la bouche d'un sujet, avec un sens proche de Ha 1,11. L'absence du mot «dieu» dans E² est ce qui a le plus de chances de représenter le texte primitif. Le TH E s'arrête avant l'intervention de Judith et il est alors supplémenté par un texte midrashique (7^e dans ma classification). Il ne contient pas la prière de l'héroïne qui rappelle les intentions sacrilèges des envahisseurs (ix,11; 9,8).

Il y a donc eu une première rédaction ou ébauche du livre de Judith n'attribuant au roi de Ninive qu'une ambition de domination universelle. Ultérieurement on l'a représenté comme aspirant à être reconnu comme seul dieu. Ces deux étapes peuvent se placer respectivement au troisième siècle avant notre ère et à l'époque de la persécution d'Antiochus Épiphanes, pour encourager la résistance aux mesures sacrilèges par le souvenir d'un triomphe sur un ennemi impie.

III. Les chroniqueurs non bibliques et les midrachs juifs

Les deux présentations de la campagne de Nabuchodonosor dans les TH, projet d'hégémonie politique ou volonté de divinisation, ont leur correspondant respectif dans deux formes de la tradition non biblique de Judith: des chroniqueurs et des midrachs juifs. Sous Darius (d'après Jean Malalas) ou sous Xerxès (Suidas) les Juifs profitent d'une guerre du roi perse contre l'Éthiopie pour revenir de l'exil⁽¹²⁾. Holopherne est envoyé pour assiéger Jérusalem. Une femme,

⁽¹¹⁾ Sur ce passage (1,7), qui montre chez les copistes le souci d'actualiser ou d'expliquer des données qui risquaient de n'être plus comprises, voir *Biblica* 1975, 509. Cela réduit à rien l'objection contre l'originalité des TH, formulée par beaucoup: certains noms de lieu supposent la prononciation tardive du latin. Il n'est pas impossible que l'auteur du manuscrit VL^x ait pensé aux Scythes. Mais on ne peut douter qu'il ait eu un contact avec la leçon du TH B mentionnant les Kitym.

⁽¹²⁾ Sur le texte de Jean Malalas (5^e siècle de notre ère) voir Dubarle, I, 115-118 et Dubarle II, 178-179, où il est reproduit d'après PG 97, 260-264. Le chroniqueur grec assure que les faits sont rapportés dans les écritures hébraïques. Il se réfère très probablement à d'autres écrits que le livre biblique. Il emploie, en

Judith, feignit de vouloir trahir son peuple (Jean M.) ou d'être amoureuse du chef ennemi (Suidas). Elle le décapita pendant son sommeil (Suidas) ou même, après trois jours passés seule à seul dans sa tente, «pendant qu'elle dort avec lui» (Jean M.). Elle rapporta la tête dans la ville assiégée et la fit planter sur le rempart au bout d'une lance. Cette forme du récit était si contraire à la donnée biblique qu'un chroniqueur plus tardif, recopiant Jean M., omit les mots scabreux «avec lui»⁽¹³⁾. En l'absence d'un pronom sujet dans le texte grec on comprend «pendant qu'il dort»: l'honneur de l'héroïne est sauf. Le mobile du roi perse est une simple considération de stratégie, comme dans TH E⁽¹⁴⁾.

Une autre forme de la tradition non biblique est celle des midrashs juifs. Le thème devait avoir la faveur du public, car on retrouve de nombreuses rédactions différant par des détails⁽¹⁵⁾. Le récit est souvent relié à un contexte de persécution religieuse exercée par les rois grecs. Après diverses mesures vexatoires est prise la décision de faire violer les fiancées juives avant leur mariage par un fonctionnaire grec⁽¹⁶⁾. La fille du grand prêtre, parfois sœur de Judas Maccabée, menacée d'une pareille honte, déclenche l'insurrection. Elle se dépouille de tous ses vêtements à la vue du peuple⁽¹⁷⁾ et à ses frères, qui s'indignent de son impudeur et veulent la brûler (cf. Gn 38,24), elle rétorque qu'ils consentent à une impudicité beaucoup plus grande en la livrant

effet, avant d'en arriver à Judith, le mot grec de σκῆπτρον pour désigner les tribus d'Israël lors de leur retour d'exil. Cette traduction de l'hébreu *šbt* ou *mṯh* est beaucoup plus rare dans LXX que πολλή (employé dans TG 6,15, etc.): de toute manière c'est du grec de traduction, employé très rarement par des écrivains chrétiens. — Sur le texte de Suidas (11^e siècle) voir Dubarle I, 119-120 et II, 179-180.

⁽¹³⁾ Georges Kedrenos, PG 121, 277-278.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Je reproduis ici un passage d'une chronique syriaque que j'ai découverte depuis l'édition de Dubarle. (*Chronicon ad annum Domini 846 pertinens* [ed. E. W. BROOKS] [CSCO, t. 3-4; Paris 1904] p. 129 de la traduction latine). «Aḥšīraš, filius eius (Dariī), qui propter suas virtutes appellatus est Nebuchadnašar. Hic est rex Persarum qui devicit Arphakšarum regem Medorum et Aegyptios et Graecos, et incendit Athenas civitatem famosissimam istorum. Et diebus eius accidit res stupenda quam egit Iehudith in Olophernem ducem exercitus quem miserat rex ut devastaret terram Iudaeorum, quod volebat ut sibi venirent auxilio in bello adversus Aegyptios et adversus Arphakšarum». On remarque la parenté de cette notice avec certains traits de Jean Malalas et d'autres détails du TH E.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Sur les midrashs juifs voir Dubarle I, 80-104 et II, 98-177 qui en donne le texte. Certains présentent l'histoire de Judith isolément. Plusieurs la font précéder par le récit de la persécution et l'épisode de la fiancée en danger. Parmi ceux-là les midrashs 3^o, 4^o, 5^o, 10^o ont été édités intégralement çà ou là en dehors de Dubarle. Les textes 8^o, 12^o, 13^o sont inédits et je n'ai reproduit d'après le manuscrit que la partie concernant Judith dans Dubarle II.

⁽¹⁶⁾ L'historicité du fait a été niée par I. LÉVI, «Hanoucca et le Jus primae noctis», REJ 30 (1895) 220-231. Mais la question n'a qu'une importance secondaire présentement. En temps de guerre des bruits (vrais ou faux) peuvent courir sur les atrocités de l'ennemi. Des récits ultérieurs tardifs ne préjugent pas de l'âge de la tradition initiale. On peut donc trouver dans des midrashs médiévaux des suggestions sur l'état d'esprit des auteurs responsables des divers textes de Judith.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Dans quelques formes du récit (5^o, 12^o, 13^o) la jeune fille enlève ses habits de fête et revêt des haillons pour servir aux invités le vin de la cérémonie de mariage.

pour une nuit à un incirconcis impur⁽¹⁸⁾. Le meurtre du fonctionnaire païen entraîne l'invasion et le siège de Jérusalem. Judith sauve la ville. On institue une fête commémorative.

Suivant les différents récits l'assaillant est appelé roi de Yawan, ou roi des nations, ou Séleucus, ou Holopherne. L'héroïne est désignée comme une femme ou une jeune fille anonyme, ou nommée Judith. Elle promet au roi de satisfaire ses désirs, mais n'en fait rien. La liaison avec l'épisode de la fiancée menacée d'être violée fait apparaître comme particulièrement révoltant le partage de la couche d'un incirconcis. Il y a là une harmonie secrète avec l'insistance du TH B sur la pureté (xv,11) ou la continence (xvi,26) de Judith. Le TH C n'a pas ces mots; il se borne à dire qu'elle n'a pas péché avec le chef ennemi (xiii,20; cf. 13,16) et qu'elle n'a pas connu d'autre homme après la mort de son mari (xv,11; xvi,26; cf. 16,22).

Cette présentation des événements est-elle déjà une transformation du fait divers initial? Les chroniqueurs grecs cités plus haut laissent entendre que l'héroïne a cédé au désir d'Holopherne avant de l'assassiner. On peut conjecturer qu'il y a une allusion à un tel fait dans le cantique final, qui rappelle seulement la soif de conquête et de ravages de l'envahisseur, sans aucune visée de persécution sacrilège (xvi,5-6). Dans le TH B xvi,9 deux mots reproduisent Gn 38,14. Tamar, devenue veuve, provoque une union incestueuse avec son beau-père Juda, afin d'obtenir la descendance à laquelle lui donnait droit la coutume du lévirat. Elle quitte «les vêtements de son veuvage» et se déguise en prostituée. L'exécution publique du chant de victoire le protégeait contre une altération. L'allusion précise pouvait n'être plus remarquée dans un poème plein de formules bibliques, ou bien elle n'apparaissait pas scandaleuse, puisque Juda avait excusé sa belle-fille (Gn 38,26). Il n'y avait pas de comparaison avec l'horreur du viol d'une vierge par un incirconcis, telle qu'elle fut ressentie lors de la persécution.

De patriote n'hésitant pas sur les moyens au temps de la domination perse, Judith est devenue à l'époque maccabéenne la femme pure et pieuse, capable d'initiatives hardies dans un grand danger national et religieux. On allait lui découvrir d'autres qualités encore dans le milieu cultivé d'Alexandrie.

IV. Judith, sage théologienne dans le texte grec

Le TG est un libre remaniement d'un modèle sémitique et non pas une traduction mot à mot. Il suit dans les grandes lignes l'ordre des TH, mais en

(18) A travers des formulations très diverses des paroles de la jeune fille, toutes les formes du récit (sauf dans la partie inédite du midrash 8^o) expriment plus ou moins explicitement un type d'argumentation *a fortiori*, qui a pu inspirer l'adaptateur grec dans TG 8,13-14 (voir plus loin). D'un côté un acte incongru commis par la fiancée et blâmé par ses frères. De l'autre, un acte abominable et rejeté par la fiancée, auquel ses frères semblent prêts à se résigner par force. Et dans 8,14: d'un côté une impossibilité de savoir, dont on a facilement conscience. De l'autre, une impossibilité plus grande encore, mais que l'on est tenté d'oublier. Il est à noter également que la fiancée menacée de viol rappelle à ses frères le zèle de Siméon et Lévi, frères de Dina (Cf. TG 9, 2; TH ix,2; Gn 34).

ajoutant ou en retranchant quelques versets ou courts paragraphes. Même quand les versets se correspondent, il n'y a pas une correspondance exacte de chaque mot. Le rapport des deux formes de texte est comparable à ce qui existe pour le livre d'Esther dans TM et LXX.

D'une manière générale on peut dire que le TG fait preuve d'une mentalité rationnelle. Pour lui la Providence agit à travers des moyens humains ou naturels et non par des miracles extraordinaires. Déjà dans le discours d'Achior, l'Ammonite, qui relate la sortie d'Égypte, on remarque une grande sobriété. La petite phrase: «Dieu dessécha la mer Rouge devant eux» (5,13) ne fait que reprendre l'expression de Rahab, l'étrangère (Jos 2,10). Il n'est rien dit de la manne et des sources adoucies, de la conquête de Canaan sans coup férir, merveilles sur lesquelles les TH B et C (V,15-16) et même Sg (11,7; 16,1-29) aiment à s'étendre.

Plus loin le TG (8,4-8) présente Judith en suivant de près les TH: veuvage, retraite consacrée à la prière et au jeûne, beauté, richesse, bonne réputation. Mais deux manuscrits grecs, la Vetus Latina et la version syriaque Peschitto ajoutent la mention «au cœur sage et à la bonne intelligence», préluant à une autre addition, l'annonce par l'héroïne d'une action «de sagesse» (8,32). Tous les témoins rapportent l'approbation d'Ozias donnée à la sagesse du discours tenu par la courageuse patriote. C'est dans ce discours que se placent les versets propres à TG qui ont valu à Judith d'être reconnue par un commentateur comme l'unique femme théologienne de l'Ancien Testament⁽¹⁹⁾.

TG 8,12-15

Et maintenant qui êtes-vous, vous qui avez tenté Dieu aujourd'hui?... 13 Maintenant vous mettez le Seigneur tout-puissant à l'épreuve, mais vous ne connaîtrez rien à tout jamais. 14 Car vous ne découvrirez pas les profondeurs du cœur de l'homme et vous ne saisissez pas les raisonnements de son intelligence. Comment sonderez-vous le Dieu qui a fait tout cela, connaîtrez-vous sa pensée et comprendrez-vous son dessein?... 15 Car s'il n'a pas l'intention de nous secourir dans les cinq jours, il a le pouvoir de nous défendre dans les jours qu'il veut ou bien de nous exterminer devant nos ennemis.

TH VIII,11-14

B: Qu'avez-vous à tenter Jahweh? 13 Et pourquoi lui avez-vous soustrait du temps? 14 Mais jeûnez à cause de cela et avec larmes priez-le pour le moment de cette tribulation.

C: Et qui êtes-vous, vous qui tentez le Seigneur?... 12... 13 Désespérez-vous des miséricordes du Seigneur? car vous avez fixé une limite aux miséricordes du Seigneur en lui fixant un jour à votre choix. 14 Et maintenant venez et retournons au Seigneur, car il est lent à la colère et prions-le avec larmes pour le pardon de cette faute.

⁽¹⁹⁾ MOORE, *Judith*, 186: «the sole female theologian in the OT». Le niveau de réflexion de Jdt 8,14 est évidemment supérieur à celui des avis adressés par une femme à un homme dans Jg 13,2-3 ou Pr 31,2-9.

La suite du discours comporte moins le différence de pensée entre TH et TG. Judith rappelle les épreuves imposées à leurs ancêtres, les patriarches, puis elle conclut en insistant dans TG 8,27 sur le but éducatif de la souffrance, sans faire allusion aux péchés que mentionnent les TH.

TG: Car de même qu'il les a passés au feu pour scruter leur cœur, de même il ne tire pas vengeance de nous; c'est pour les avertir que le Seigneur flagelle ceux qui s'approchent de lui.

B: Et revenons de nos péchés et supportons avec humilité les coups de Dieu, car il vient à nous pour nous châtier et non pour nous perdre et en lui nous avons confiance et nous espérons en lui.

C: Et maintenant estimons que les maux qui nous ont trouvés ne sont pas à la mesure de nos fautes et que le Seigneur nous éduque comme des fils et qu'il ne fera pas de nous un ruine totale à cause de son nom grand et redoutable.

Les anciens approuvent alors dans les paroles de Judith la manifestation d'une sagesse qui s'était déjà fait reconnaître à tous dès sa jeunesse (TG 8,28-29). Les TH parlent seulement d'une vérité incontestable.

Avant de revenir sur le caractère sapientiel du discours, signalons tout de suite dans le cantique final un verset additionnel propre à TG 16,16, exprimant le même sens de la transcendance incommensurable de Dieu que 8,14-16. «Tout sacrifice est trop petit pour être d'agréable odeur et toute leur graisse trop infime pour t'être offerte en holocauste»⁽²⁰⁾. Au moment où le rédacteur grec, suivant son modèle sémitique, va parler des sacrifices d'action de grâce dans le temple de Jérusalem, il insiste sur le peu de valeur de ces gestes rituels. On peut évoquer le verset d'Is 40,16: «Le Liban ne suffit pas au bûcher, ni ses bêtes à l'holocauste».

Le discours de Judith contient dans 8,12-15 une argumentation comparable à celle de Sg 9,16-17: «C'est avec peine que nous conjecturons ce qui est sur la terre et nous découvrons avec difficulté ce qui est entre nos mains. Qui a exploré ce qui est dans les cieux? Qui a connu ta volonté, si tu n'as pas donné la sagesse?» C'est la présence de ce raisonnement qui justifie le qualificatif de femme théologienne. Le discours de la mère des sept frères torturés est une exhortation à la fidélité et au martyre (2 M 7,22-23.27-28). La pieuse juive, «remplie d'un noble sentiment et excitant sa pensée de femme par un

⁽²⁰⁾ L'absence dans TH B et C d'un verset correspondant à TG 16,16 ne provient pas d'une rétroversion à partir de Vg, où le verset manquerait par suite d'un homoioteleuton. On trouve, en effet, dans un témoin de VL, le *Complutensis*, qui combine parfois plusieurs sources (cf. plus haut, n. 8) un surplus ne correspondant à rien dans TG ou Vg, mais rappelant TH C xvi,19: *timentibus autem te tu propitiaberis...* (16,16)... *universi qui timent te et confitentur dominum magni sunt et non est finis eorum*. C xvi,19: *tous ceux qui te craignent te glorifieront à jamais*.

mâle courage», affirme avec force sa foi en un Dieu créateur de toutes choses et juste rémunérateur. Mais elle n'a pas recours à un *a fortiori* pour appuyer ses paroles.

Il est possible maintenant de présenter une liste de passages propres à TG et sans correspondant dans TH, qui offrent une parenté de pensée avec le livre grec de la Sagesse. Cependant il n'y a guère de similitude d'expression, ce qui est important pour juger d'un écrit pratiquant un style anthologique et reprenant volontiers les termes des livres bibliques antérieurs⁽²¹⁾. C'est un indice que l'auteur du TG n'a pas connu le livre de la Sagesse, mais qu'il est familier d'une même ambiance spirituelle.

TG 8,15: «Il a le pouvoir de nous protéger dans les jours qu'il veut ou bien de nous exterminer devant nos ennemis». Sg 12,12: «Qui te blâmerait de faire périr des nations que tu as faites?» Dans les deux textes l'affirmation de la liberté inconditionnelle de Dieu est suivie du rappel de sa justice bienveillante et de sa fidélité envers son peuple (TG 8,20; Sg 12,21).

TG 8,29: «Ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui que ta sagesse est manifeste; mais dès le début de ta vie, tout le peuple a reconnu ton intelligence et la bonté des penchants de ton cœur». Cf. Sg 8,2: «je l'ai aimée (la sagesse) et je l'ai recherchée dès ma jeunesse»; 8,19: «j'étais un enfant d'un bon naturel et j'avais reçu une âme bonne». Cf. Pr 20,11; Si 6,18; 51,13.

TG 9,3: «Tu as livré leurs chefs à la tuerie et leur lit, honteux de leur tromperie, à une tromperie sanglante». La phrase montre dans le meurtre de Sichem par les fils de Jacob une sorte de talion: Sichem a séduit (trompé) Dina. Il est à son tour trompé par les frères de celle-ci. Sg aime à faire ressortir dans les châtiments divins une correspondance entre la faute et sa punition: le Nil changé en sang (Sg 11,6); les adorateurs des bêtes punis par où ils ont péché (11,16; 16,1-3.9); les Egyptiens oppresseurs tyranniques, prisonniers des ténèbres (18,4); les assassins d'enfants châtiés par la plaie des premiers-nés (18,5).

TG 9,3: «Tu as frappé les puissants sur leurs trônes» Sg 5,23: «La malice renverse le trône des puissants».

Même quand TG et TH se correspondent à peu près, on peut trouver des parallèles dans Sg TG 5,13: «Dieu dessécha la Mer Rouge devant eux et les conduisit sur la route du Sinaï et de Cadès-Barné. Ils chassèrent tous ceux qui habitaient le désert». Sg 10,18: «Elle (la Sagesse) leur fit traverser la Mer Rouge, 11,2 ils firent route dans le désert inhabité, 11,3 ils tinrent tête à des ennemis». On remarque dans ces passages que TH v,12-16 et Sg sont beaucoup moins sobres que TG sur les aspects merveilleux de l'exode.

TG 8,12: «Qui êtes-vous, vous qui avez tenté Dieu?» Sg 1,2: «Il est trouvé par ceux qui ne le tentent pas».

TG 8,26-27: «Il a éprouvé Isaac... c'est pour les avertir que le Seigneur flagelle ceux qui s'approchent de Lui». Sg 11,9-10: «quand ils furent éprouvés... tu les as mis à l'essai comme un père qui avertit». Dans TH viii,23.27, il y a un rappel des péchés du peuple, qui manque dans TG.

⁽²¹⁾ Sur ce point on peut voir Dubarle I, 12-15; 137-162. La liste des rapprochements n'est pas exhaustive.

TG 8,20: «Mais nous, nous n'avons pas connu d'autre dieu en dehors de lui». Cf. TH VIII,19. Sg 15,4: «Nous n'avons pas été égarés par l'invention d'un art mauvais des hommes».

TG 9,8: «Ils ont projeté de souiller la *tente* où repose ton nom glorieux, de profaner tes lieux *saints* et de renverser par le fer la corne de ton *autel*». Sg 9,8: «Tu as dit de bâtir un temple sur ta montagne *sainte* et, dans la ville où tu as fixé ta *tente*, un *autel*». Cf. TH IX,11.

TG 13,16: «Il n'a pas commis de péché avec moi pour la *souillure* et le déshonneur»; cf. TH XIII,20. Sg 3,13: «Bienheureuse la stérile non *souillée*, qui n'a pas connu de couche coupable». 4,1: «Mieux vaut être sans enfants et posséder la vertu».

TG 13,19: «Ton espérance ne quittera pas le cœur des hommes qui se *souviendront perpétuellement* de la puissance de Dieu». Cf. TH XIII,25. Sg 8,13: «Je laisserai un *souvenir perpétuel* à ceux qui viendront après moi».

Il n'y a guère de ressemblance entre Judith et la femme de valeur décrite dans Pr 31,10-31. Judith est veuve, sans enfants, belle et toujours désirable, riche, mais confiant à une esclave l'administration de ses biens, ne travaillant pas de ses mains, consacrant tout son temps à la prière. On ne parle pas spécialement de ses aumônes. Le seul point commun est la crainte du Seigneur. Mais comme le Sage elle pourrait dire: «Je me montrerai bon parmi le peuple et vaillant à la guerre. Entré dans ma maison je me reposerai auprès d'elle (la Sagesse)» (Sg 8,15-16).

Judith est sage non pas seulement comme la femme avisée de Téqoa, parleuse experte, capable de duper le roi David (2 S 14,2). Judith dupera également Holopherne par ses scrupules prétendus de pureté alimentaire. Elle est sage non pas seulement comme la femme avisée d'Abel-Beth-Maaka, intervenant opportunément pour éviter un massacre grâce à la mort d'un seul homme (2 S 20,16). Elle est sage comme les sages qui s'adonnent à la prière (Si 39,5; Sg 7,7; 8,21).

En contraste avec la sage Judith, TG met en relief le fol orgueil de Nabuchodonosor, qui veut être le seul dieu de toute la terre. Ce n'est pas un trait absolument nouveau par rapport aux TH B et C, mais l'insistance est notablement plus grande: le roi d'Assour utilise dans ses discours les expressions attribuées à Yahweh par les prophètes. On peut voir le détail dans Dubarle I, p. 73, § 5 et p. 153-154.

Conclusion

Les TH fournissent le moyen de discerner une formation progressive du livre de Judith⁽²²⁾. C'est un cas à peu près unique dans la Bible. Le livre d'Esther présente quelque analogie, mais avec ambiguïté: additions dans LXX

⁽²²⁾ Je me limite ici à comparer deux formes de texte: TH et TG et à observer la modification du caractère de l'héroïne. Mais il n'est pas inutile de signaler un article consacré exclusivement au TG. M. DELCOR a étudié «Le livre de Judith et l'époque grecque», *Klio*, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte 49 (1967) 151-179. Il a rassemblé tous les indices d'une date tardive de ce texte: institutions d'Israël,

ou suppressions dans TM? Dans les autres cas on est réduit à des conjectures tirées du livre lui-même en son unique forme, ou de légères différences dans l'ordre ou l'ampleur des péripécies entre TM et LXX. Dans le cas de Judith la comparaison des diverses formes permet de reconnaître avec plus de précision l'intention du rédacteur final, grâce à ce qu'il ajoute ou retranche.

En particulier la figure de l'héroïne se transforme dans les écrits rappelant son haut fait. De patriote audacieuse et avisée, elle devient une croyante fervente, adonnée à une prière continuelle, mais capable de sortir de son oratoire pour une initiative courageuse et insolite. Finalement dans le TG elle est de surcroît une sage théologienne, ayant un sens profond de la transcendance impénétrable de Dieu. Rapprochées l'une de l'autre, les deux adjonctions doctrinales mises dans sa bouche (8,14; 16,16), préludent à une parole de Jésus adressée à une femme samaritaine de Sychar, non loin de l'introuvable Béthulie, et qui avait comme la ville assiégée des problèmes pour son approvisionnement d'eau potable: «Dieu est esprit et ceux qui l'adorent doivent l'adorer en esprit et en vérité» (Jn 4,24).

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politique religieuse des souverains orientaux, géographie, utilisation textuelle de livres antérieurs, notamment Daniel (LXX et non Théodotion). Il conclut à «un remaniement dont le livre de Judith laisse transparaître maints indices» (p. 173), qui attribua à l'époque d'Antiochus des faits antérieurs, comme des campagnes militaires. Je n'entre pas dans le détail de tout cet arrière-plan. La conclusion s'harmonise parfaitement avec mon propre exposé. Le livre grec serait, d'après M. Delcor, postérieur à la purification du Temple sous Judas Maccabée (en 164) et antérieur au règne de Jean Hyrcan ou d'Alexandre Jannée (135 ou 102, p. 179).

RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

Marvin A. SWEENEY, *Isaiah 1-4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition* (BZAW 171). Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1988. x-211 p. 23,5×15,8. DM 98, —.

El presente estudio es la edición revisada de una tesis dirigida por R. P. Knierim, y presentada en Claremont Graduate School en la primavera de 1983. Se define como un intento de comprender la formación redaccional del libro de Isaías (p. 185), y se sitúa en la línea de estudios que aceptaron la invitación y el desafío de B. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, de desarrollar una interpretación «canónica» del AT (cfr. *Bib* 62 [1981] 422-428).

El breve estudio está claramente formulado y simplemente organizado. El cap. I es una sumaria presentación de opiniones (9 páginas), que pone de relieve el cambio en la orientación de los estudios sobre Isaías. Los más antiguos suponían una yuxtaposición de textos más o menos casual con añadidos interpretativos sobre textos particulares (B. Duhm). Otros estudios más recientes descubren intereses redaccionales diferentes en los diferentes niveles de texto, sobre todo de los cap. 1-39 (J. Vermeylen, H. Barth, O. Kaiser). Los estudios más modernos pretenden constatar una clara última intención editorial del libro completo, incluyendo Is 40-66 (S. Mowinckel y D. Jones son los precursores, a los que siguen J. Becker, P. Ackroyd, B. Childs, R. E. Clements, y R. Rendtorff). Obviamente el autor se sitúa en esta última corriente.

Las 15 páginas del cap. II establecen la tesis de la unidad redaccional del libro de Isaías. Los fundamentos de esta tesis se encuentran en los autores del último grupo indicado, y son cinco «líneas de evidencia»: a) el oráculo contra Babilonia Is 13,1-14,23 como vínculo temático entre Is 1-39 y 40-66; b) Is 36-39 como transición entre ambas grandes secciones de Isaías: la figura de Ezequías en contraposición a la de Ajaz prepara las promesas de Is 40-66 y justifica al mismo tiempo el paso de la promesa a la casa de David al pueblo todo (democratización de la Alianza); c) los temas del nuevo éxodo y de la ceguera-sordera de Israel, que aparecen concentrados en Is 35 y retomados a lo largo de Is 40-66, pero también en las alusiones de Is 1-39, el primero de ellos particularmente en Is 4 (la nube y el fuego), Is 12 (relaciones con el Cántico del Mar), e Is 6 (ambos temas reunidos); d) Is 1 como introducción programática al libro de Isaías (siguiendo la tesis de G. Fohrer), constituida por cinco oráculos de tiempos

diversos, compilados en el período post-exílico y situados al comienzo de Isaías como sumario de los temas mayores: «pecado, juicio, posibilidad de salvación, y medios de obtenerla» (p. 21). Por lo demás Is 1 constituiría con 65-66 una inclusión del libro; e) finalmente, la presentación de los materiales isaianos está dirigida por intereses post-exílicos, particularmente la preocupación por comprender la destrucción de Jerusalén, el exilio, y la restauración. El cap. II concluye afirmando la unidad redaccional del libro de Isaías. Esto significaría más particularmente que Is 1-39 ha sido organizado teniendo en cuenta Is 40-66, para responder a las inquietudes de la comunidad post-exílica.

Aquí (p. 25) concluyen las afirmaciones frecuentemente aceptadas acerca de la constitución del libro de Isaías y comienzan las dificultades del lector para comprender cuál es la finalidad del resto de la tesis y la contribución propia del autor.

El cap. III (p. 27-99), «The structure of the book of Isaiah» es una división generalmente aceptable del texto de Isaías (apoyada sobre observaciones formales, de vocabulario y contenido) como las que se pueden encontrar en buenas ediciones de la Biblia. Referencias bibliográficas a comentarios y pequeñas diferencias de interpretación con uno u otro autor no agregan nada fundamental a la división presentada. Por lo demás, la subdivisión es tal vez demasiado genérica (vgr. «Superscription — oracle proper», a propósito de Is 13-23; ni podía ser de otro modo con la pocas páginas a disposición para tratar el problema) como para ayudar a comprender mejor la relación de un texto con otro, y consiguientemente la unidad redaccional que está en juego. Frases conclusivas como «Isa 2-66 elaborates and expands on the theme of Isa 1 by spelling out the implications of Jerusalem's punishment and restoration for the whole world» (p. 98) podrían describir aún secciones más amplias del texto bíblico, que Isaías solamente.

El autor ha reservado su cap. IV (pg. 101-184) para lo que debería ser su principal contribución, a propósito de Is 1; y 2-4. Encontramos aquí el mismo proceso analítico utilizado en el cap. III, llevado al extremo. En función de observaciones de vocabulario y formales, el autor presenta la «estructura» de cada sección de texto, que es en realidad una minuciosa descripción del contenido (vgr. en el caso de Is 1,4-9 incluye 44 divisiones y subdivisiones). El autor dedica un último párrafo en el tratamiento de cada unidad al análisis redaccional, una vez más demasiado breve para la tarea propuesta. Establece primero que las distintas secciones pertenecen a períodos diferentes, y luego procura descubrir el principio de organización redaccional.

Pero para la primera tarea se conforma con argumentos conocidos y generales. Establecer una distinción temporal entre Is 1,4-9 y 1,10-17 porque las celebraciones culturales indicadas en este último texto no pueden pertenecer al momento de crisis descrito en el primero, es olvidar que probablemente al día siguiente del desastre el pueblo festejaba alegremente la «victoria» (cfr. Is 22,1-14). Ciertamente que la argumentación de J. T. Willis, *VT* 34 (1984) 63-77 y otras similares merecían una más detallada discusión que la observaciones de p. 124, nota 59.

Cuando el lector llega a la «reconstrucción redaccional» no ha quedado aún suficientemente claro que haya necesidad de emprender ese proceso.

La conclusione (Cap. V) non aporta elementos nuovi importanti né in quanto a la tesi né in quanto a la argomentación, si se compara con los estudios indicados en el cap. II.

El autor había advertido en p. 8 que los límites de espacio no permitían un estudio completo de la formación del libro de Isaías. Por tanto su estudio se presentaba como un «intento preliminar de comprender la formación del libro centrándose en Is 1-4».

Pero una tesi sobre formación redaccional no puede reducirse a una breve sección del libro, ni proceder por analogía. No se puede concluir de un proceso redaccional en 4 capítulos, otro proceso similar en otros capítulos. Más importante aún, no se puede establecer la historia redaccional de un texto y su función dentro de un corpus, sin tener cuenta de todo el corpus, vgr. el libro de Isaías. Para esta tarea las 175 páginas a disposición del autor (cap. III-IV) ciertamente no bastaban.

La historia de la redacción del libro de Isaías queda por tanto aún abierta, y debería ser probablemente objeto de un trabajo de síntesis después de numerosos estudios parciales sobre las complejas relaciones de todos los textos del libro.

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Raymond Jacques TOURNAY, *Voir et entendre Dieu avec les Psaumes ou la liturgie prophétique du Second Temple à Jérusalem* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 24). Paris, J. Gabalda, 1988. 221 p. 24,5 × 15,9. FF 302.

Dopo essersi consacrato da più di 40 anni al Salterio con una serie di articoli prevalentemente pubblicati sulla *Revue Biblique*, R. J. Tournay approda ora ad un saggio sintetico che, oltre ad offrire il suo progetto esegetico ed ermeneutico sui Salmi, costituisce indirettamente un importante bilancio dell'esegesi salmica contemporanea: si pensi solo alla preziosa introduzione generale, alla bibliografia finale ricca di almeno 700 titoli e al fatto che in pratica tutti i salmi sono in qualche modo coinvolti nel testo (stupisce però l'assenza, data la prospettiva adottata, di qualche salmo come il 15, il 23, il 67, il 93, il 98, il 115,9-13 e i 145-147). La tesi avanzata da Tournay, già anticipata dalle sue analisi parziali, è nota: i Salmi devono essere collocati nella vita religiosa del popolo ebraico e in particolare nell'opera dei leviticanti del secondo Tempio che «ont voulu suppléer au silence de la grande prophétie» (pp. 15 e 36-37), donde la definizione della salmografia come «liturgie prophétique du Second Temple». Secondo Tournay, «véritables prophètes culturels, les lévites-chantres composent pour toute la communauté des formulaires de prières et d'hymnes dans le style des anciens prophètes» (p. 47).

La tesi è sostenuta attraverso due tracciati, il primo indiretto, il secondo interno al Salterio stesso. La via esterna si basa soprattutto sulla ricostruzione suggerita dalle Cronache. Noi lasceremmo tra parentesi 1 Cron 15,22, che rimane oscuro nonostante lo sforzo di decrittazione operato da Tournay, e 1 Cron 25,7 in cui l'esegeta ricorre ad un giuoco gematrico da «hasard» (p. 22: 288 come 4×72 ricorrendo ai 70 di Num 11 + Eldad e Medad!). Noi lasceremmo ai margini anche l'incerto 2 Cron 29,25 come molto implicita ci sembra la tipologia profetica di Davide secondo il Cronista (solo il Targum la esplicita). Molto perplessi ci lascia la catalogazione di Goele, del Secondo Zaccaria e persino di Giona come «leviti-profeti» o l'interpretazione dell'«io» salmico secondo la quale «les lévites-chantres revendiquaient pour eux-mêmes une autorité prophétique, à l'instar de David, le roi prophète, l'initiateur de la liturgie» (p. 47), come non del tutto convincente è la descrizione del trapasso di tipologie dal Messia-re al Messia-sacerdote e quindi al popolo sul quale è effuso lo spirito messianico.

Il testo più esplicito a sostegno della tesi di Tournay resta quindi solo 1 Cron 25,2-6 (e forse 2 Cron 20). Tuttavia, al di là delle testimonianze esterne piuttosto esili e al di là dell'opposizione di R. de Vaux per il quale sarebbe impossibile dimostrare l'esistenza di una classe di profeti professionali nel tempio, si può certo ipotizzare che i levitici post-esilici ebbero in qualche modo la coscienza di continuare la voce profetica (d'altra parte non del tutto spenta). La dimostrazione dell'ipotesi deve però fondarsi, più che sugli esili dati esterni, sull'analisi interna al Salterio ed è appunto questa la parte dominante dell'opera di Tournay che si fonda su due generi letterari, la teofania e l'oracolo, il «voir» e l'«entendre Dieu» del titolo.

Il genere innico teofanico è ben documentato in Israele, come è attestato da Gios 10,12; Giud 5; Deut 33; Es 15; Abd 3; Mi 1,3-4 etc. (si dovrebbe aggiungere anche la dossologia di Am 4,13; 5,8-9; 9,5-6), testi spesso intarsiati di *clichés* mitici «smitizzati», sui quali saremmo più cauti di quanto faccia Tournay a costruire illazioni cronologiche. Nella teofania cultica si possono distinguere tre sottospecie. La prima è la teofania del Nome, un motivo di grande rilievo nel Salterio (tocca almeno una sessantina di salmi). Tuttavia è un andare un po' oltre il tenore dei passi affermare che «la vénération et la proclamation du Nom ineffable équivalent à une sorte de manifestation théophanique de la divinité» (p. 83) e che «Nom et Gloire, associés dans l'hymnologie, évoquent une manifestation théophanique du Dieu invisible qui, dans le culte, se rend à la fois visible et audible» (p. 83).

Il secondo modello è quello della teofania cultica della Gloria, tipico del post-esilio (cf. soprattutto Lev 9, ma c'è anche Is 6): lo si può rintracciare direttamente o indirettamente nei Sal 63,2-3; 42,2-3; 143,6-8; 17,15 (*ʾmmunâ* = *doxa* LXX); 16,8 («alla destra» di Dio); 140,14; 27,13; 24; 29. Talora l'indicazione è molto esile, come in 11,7 ove si ha solo una menzione del volto di Dio che «contempla l'uomo retto». Se si allega il 24, non si vede perché sia ignorato il 15 (cf. W. Beyerlin, *Weisheitlich-kultische Heilsordnung. Studien zum 15. Psalm* [BTS 9; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985]), mentre a proposito di 24,7,9 il riferimento a Lam 2,9 non è per nulla convincente e pertinente e quindi impedisce ogni deduzione cronologica sul salmo. La terza tipologia è quella, più generica, dei motivi teofanici di cornice, delle reminiscenze e dei

simboli (fuoco e luce) che sono presenti nell'innografia post-esilica alla quale vengono ricondotti i Sal 29; 68,33-36; 18,8-16; 144; 77,14-21; 114; Nah 1,2-8 ma anche 50,1-4; 80,2-3; 94,1-2; 97,1-6; 83; 84; 73 considerato, quest'ultimo, la teofania personale di un profeta cultico.

L'altro genere letterario è quello dell'oracolo la cui presenza nella salmografia è fuori discussione: è soprattutto attraverso questa via — secondo noi — che si può dimostrare l'esistenza del profeta cultico o per lo meno la funzione oracolare del sacerdote. Accanto a quelli «impliciti», spesso molto fluidi e testimonianze solo di contatti più generali tra salmografia e letteratura profetica, Tournay elenca una serie di salmi oracolari espliciti a cui allega un'ottima ed accurata analisi: 12,6; 46,11; 50,5-23; 81,6-17; 95,7-11; 60 (cf. 108); 75; 82; 68,23; 105,11.15; 87,4. Improbabile, invece, è la citazione di 32,8-9 di genere nettamente sapienziale (nonostante Kraus), come quella di 55,23 nei cui confronti lo stesso Tournay è esitante. Una tipologia a parte è quella dei «salmi messianici», tutti scanditi da oracoli (noi, però, escluderemmo il 101 che corrisponde al genere dei «discorsi della corona» e non contiene nessun oracolo).

Terminus a quo per l'a. è il Sal 89 databile tra il 587 e la restaurazione del Secondo Tempio: Tournay avanza persino l'ipotesi che il «messia» del v. 52 sia Joiakin. Si passa poi al 132 che rivelerebbe contatti con l'89 per giungere al 110 la cui comprensione dipende naturalmente da Gen 14, considerato non anteriore al V sec. Seguono i Sal 2; 45; 72. Costante anche qui la convinzione che essi siano espressione de «l'espérance des lévites-chantres, porte-parole de toute la communauté, à l'époque su second Temple» (p. 180). Il contributo di Tournay — la cui esegesi salmica è di una densità e di un nitore straordinari — è certamente decisivo per delineare la grande opera redazionale, in *Sitz-im-Leben* liturgico, effettuata dall'area levitico-sacerdotale in quell'età dell'oro della letteratura biblica che fu l'epoca persiana ed ellenistica. Su questo punto crediamo che non possano più sussistere esitazioni.

Più problematica, invece, è l'accettazione di tutta la documentazione testuale addotta da Tournay, la cui tendenza ad enfatizzare questa redazione post-esilica fa dimenticare o almeno impallidire la preesistenza di molti materiali salmici. Certo, i leviti-cantori furono autori in proprio di salmi ed editori di una salmografia già codificata; ma quest'opera editoriale è talmente esaltata da Tournay da rendere impossibile ogni *Formgeschichte* (si veda il trattamento riservato ai Sal 18; 24; 29; 68; ai messianici, a Nah 1,2-8). In margine segnaliamo qualche refuso: i titoli bibliografici in lingua italiana sono prevalentemente scorretti; a p. 30 dalla riga 9 in avanti è avvenuta una perturbazione tipografica; a p. 2 l. 17 si legga Broadribb; a p. 202 ultima l. si legga Quintens; manca nella bibliografia finale Irsigler citato a p. 114 l. 42.

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P. W. SKEHAN (†) – A. A. DI LELLA, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira. A New Translation with Notes by P. W. SKEHAN, Introduction and Commentary by A. A. DI LELLA* (The Anchor Bible 39). New York, Doubleday, 1987. xxiii-620 p. US \$ 22.00.

Ce nouveau grand commentaire scientifique du livre de Ben Sira est de la taille des grands classiques de I. Lévi (1898, 1901), de R. Smend (1906), de N. Peters (1913) et de M. H. Segal (²1958). Il a l'avantage de pouvoir intégrer les recherches qui se sont multipliées depuis une trentaine d'années. P. W. Skehan s'était chargé de la traduction, justifiée dans les notes critiques; la mort, en 1980, l'empêcha d'achever son travail, qu'A. A. Di Lella compléta pour Si 38,24-39,11; 40,1-43,33; 51,13-30. Le but des traducteurs est de reconstituer et de traduire le texte écrit en hébreu par Ben Sira lui-même. Voir par ex. Si 48,11 et la note; cf. aussi 1,15 (avec Smend, Segal, mais aussi Vaccari et même la Néo-Vulgate!). Les notes critiques sont très soignées; elles recourent à toute la tradition textuelle.

Les auteurs acceptent l'authenticité globale des fragments hébreux retrouvés depuis près d'un siècle (cf. le dernier en date: A. A. Di Lella, «The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza», *Bib* 69 [1988] 226-238); la traduction s'appuiera principalement sur eux. Les auteurs acceptent aussi la théorie, commune aujourd'hui, des deux recensions du texte, l'une originale (HTI), traduite en grec (GI), l'autre étant une revision postérieure du texte hébreu avec additions (HTII), ce nouvel état du texte ayant été lui aussi rendu en grec (GII); les principales additions sont ici traduites au bas des pages (dans son édition du texte grec, J. Ziegler les imprimait dans le texte, mais en caractères plus petits).

Pourtant la situation textuelle est à ce point compliquée que les auteurs utilisent la théorie générale avec une souplesse qu'on pourra discuter. Ainsi quelques textes de GII sont reconnus comme authentiquement de Ben Sira (1,21; 3,7a; 13,12; 21,25a; 33,13b.26; 47,9c); quelques additions de GII, acceptées par Ziegler, ne sont signalées que dans les notes critiques (par ex., 10,8cd; 12,6c; 16,3cd.22c; 17,17a.22c.26a); on se demandera pourquoi; le stique 2,5c est maintenu dans la traduction des additions, mais avec le sigle G^o: la recension origénienne, supposera-t-on; par ailleurs, 3,25 suit l'hébreu du MS A, alors que ce verset, absent de GI, apparaît en GII et Syr avec quelques variantes; en 16,15-16, le texte, présent en hébreu dans le MS A, est traduit et imprimé parmi les versets authentiques de Ben Sira, entre crochets, il est vrai, et la note (p. 270) le considère comme une expansion tardive du texte.

Les notes critiques justifiant la traduction sont extrêmement précieuses et, au terme d'un siècle ou presque de recherches, elles marquent une étape importante. Toutefois, il me semble qu'on n'est pas encore parvenu aujourd'hui à reconstituer nettement (y parviendra-t-on jamais?) les deux états successifs du texte du Siracide, celui de Ben Sira lui-même, traduit en grec par son petit-fils, et l'édition revue. Ainsi, est-il exact que cette seconde édition ne se signale que par des additions? La présentation de la présente traduction le laisserait penser, mais plusieurs critiques en doutent. Les MSS hébreux ne fournissent-ils pas, et dans quelle mesure, des éléments du texte

second? P. Rüger distingue, dans les fragments hébreux, des éléments du texte original et d'autres appartenant au texte second. Mais Skehan et Di Lella préfèrent voir dans plusieurs de ces textes hébreux une rétroversion médiévale à partir du syriaque (p. 58). On est ici à un nœud important, mais il ne me paraît pas que l'édition présente fasse beaucoup avancer la question. Je relève aussi qu'en 3,17a, le texte du MS C du Caire comporterait une «rétroversion maladroite» de la version grecque: est-ce vraiment croyable?

Le commentaire, qui est tout entier de la main de Di Lella, est certainement le meilleur dont on puisse disposer aujourd'hui. Il profite heureusement de l'essor des études sur Ben Sira depuis trente ans. On pourra constater avec plaisir que celle de G.-L. Prato, par ex., fait partie intégrante du dossier. Un des éléments nouveaux du commentaire est son attention aux structures poétiques du texte; un chapitre de l'introduction (pp. 63-74) rassemble déjà un certain nombre d'observations. Par ex., Ben Sira écrit normalement des vers de deux stiques, mais des tristiques, selon Di Lella, existent aussi (cf. 4,17-18; 13,5-7; 24,23; 28,12; 36,11; 39,5): c'est là un point que O. Rickenbacher a contesté. La structure d'ensemble du livre échappe toujours. Aux pp. 4-5 de son introduction, Di Lella renonce même à donner un plan des ch. 1-43; il relève plutôt une série de thèmes traités à divers endroits du livre; cependant son commentaire divise l'ensemble du livre en huit parties, suivies d'une conclusion; la répartition des huit parties est communément acceptée, les cinq premières s'ouvrant par un poème sur la Sagesse. D'autre part, il divise le livre en deux grands blocs (1-23 et 24-50: p. 137 et 331). Mais l'unité de chaque partie n'est toujours pas perceptible. Toutefois Di Lella relève une série de textes d'allure alphabétique (de 22 ou de 21 lignes) soit au début soit à la fin de quelques parties; à la liste donnée p. 74, s'ajoute le discours en Si 24 (p. 331). L'observation de ce fait littéraire est neuve et pourrait aider à clarifier l'organisation du livre.

Je voudrais revenir sur le premier de ces textes que Di Lella considère comme alphabétiques: 1,11-30. Skehan et Di Lella lui trouvent 22 vers parce qu'ils lui ajoutent 1,21, qui n'est transmis en entier que par GII; il s'agirait d'un vers authentique de Ben Sira. Le principal argument avancé est d'ordre structural (p. 142-143). J'ai toutefois quelques doutes. Je vois bien que Herkenne, Peters, Haspecker, Alonso Schökel et Rickenbacher acceptent l'authenticité de ce verset, mais non pas Smend, Segal, Duesberg, Vaccari, ni la majorité des traducteurs. Les versions anciennes ne sont ici d'aucun secours, car elles présentent ici un grand désordre; seule la latine conserve 1,21a (1,27). Le premier problème est celui du sujet de la colère indiquée en 1,21b: pour Peters, Alonso Schökel, la *TOB* et Skehan, il s'agirait de la colère divine provoquée par le péché (cf. 1,21a, comparé à 23,16), mais, pour Smend et Haspecker, il s'agirait plutôt de la colère de l'homme (cf. 1,22). Le reste du livre montre que, pour Ben Sira, la colère peut être soit divine soit humaine; le vocabulaire n'est donc ici d'aucun secours. De toute façon, le passage de 1,21, surtout s'il y est question de la colère divine, à 1,22 est abrupt. Quant au rapport à voir entre 1,21 et ce qui précède, je ne le vois pas au plan des thèmes, si ce n'est dans la mention de la crainte du Seigneur. Par contre, 1,20 termine bien 1,11-20, par la mention de cette crainte du Seigneur, de la longue vie, du début et du terme de la sagesse, tous thèmes qui constituent la charpente de 1,11-20. Dès lors, 1,21 ne me paraît pas à retenir. Dès lors aussi l'unité alphabétique de 1,11-30 me paraît douteuse. Je

préférerais voir en Si 1 une série de péripécies dont l'unité littéraire ne me paraît pas évidente, en tout cas pas assez pour faire de 1,11-30 un seul poème. Ces observations sur 1,21 ne mettent nullement en cause l'existence des autres poèmes alphabétiques de Ben Sira; elles voudraient seulement inciter à la prudence avant d'accepter l'authenticité de ce verset de GII.

L'introduction aborde clairement la plupart des questions que soulève le livre. Je ne signale ici que quelques détails sur des sujets toujours controversés. Di Lella considère que le grand-prêtre dont Si 50 fait l'éloge, spécialement lors de l'offrande quotidienne (cf. Ó Fairghail), est Simon II; cela suppose qu'un Simon I a réellement existé; mais qui est Simon le Juste, le premier (p. 15) ou le second (p. 550)? Selon G. F. Moore et ceux qui l'ont suivi, il n'y aurait eu qu'un seul grand-prêtre Simon, celui dont parle Ben Sira. Ben Sira était-il prêtre? Di Lella (p. 12, n. 6) est prudent, avec raison, me semble-t-il. Si 51,13-30 est considéré comme un texte authentique de Ben Sira (p. 28s., 563 et 576), de même que Si 51,1-12. Di Lella loue grandement C. Kearns (p. 59, n. 32), mais il ne prend pas position sur la thèse principale de cet exégète: de quel milieu provient l'édition revue de Ben Sira? Enfin, à propos de la thèse de W. C. Trenchard sur l'attitude de Ben Sira envers les femmes, Di Lella est sévère, à juste titre.

La longue bibliographie est la meilleure dont on puisse disposer actuellement (une légère confusion, p. 100: *Les scribes inspirés*, de H. Duesberg, ont paru en deux volumes en 1938-1939, puis en un volume en 1966). Quelques oublis, par ex.: P. C. Beentjes, *Jesus Sirach en Tenach* (Nieuwegein 1981); G. Krinetzki, sur Si 6,5-17, *BZ* 23 (1979) 212-233; M. Mor, sur Si 50,25-26, dans *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel* (Haifa 1980) 71-81, réfutation de l'hypothèse de J. D. Purvis, mentionnée aux pp. 110 et 558; G. Sauer, traduction annotée de Ben Sira, dans *JSHRZ*, III, 5 (Gütersloh 1981) 505-638. Les index qui terminent cet excellent commentaire sont une mine! Enfin, j'applaudis des deux mains à l'appel lancé par Di Lella (p. x): qu'on adopte désormais la numérotation des chapitres et versets proposée par J. Ziegler.

En un mot, quelles que soient nos questions, ce volume est désormais indispensable.

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Matthias KRIEG, *Todesbilder im Alten Testament oder: «Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet»* (AThANT 73). Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 1988. 659 p. + Textheft. 22,5 × 15. DM 72, —.

«Todesbilder im AT»: este título condensa bien el contenido y división mayor del libro. Un problema de lenguaje imaginativo, un tema de la muerte representada en imágenes poéticas.

Como el lenguaje imaginativo de la Biblia sufre hoy violencia, el autor adelanta una defensa de su percepción y estudio; ensanchando mucho el campo de observación, para que puedan entrar por un lado R. Lowth y K. Barth por otro.

En la pág. 111 accede al tema central de las imágenes. Esta vez concentra todo en la «metáfora» late sumpta, sin distinguir descripción, comparación, alegoría, símbolo. En vez de largos párrafos explicativos, el autor adopta un estilo sentencioso, a veces aforístico, del tipo «Das Bild lebt durch die Geschichte seiner Verwendung». Ocupan 18 páginas, son casi 400 sentencias repartidas en cuatro apartados, cada uno dividido en dos oposiciones binarias. Formulaciones breves y en serie, con recuerdos de un lenguaje heideggeriano, como «Das Bild wird zu einem Bewegungsraum der Existenz»; y con regusto en la *figura etymologica* del tipo *verfremden/entfremden/befremden*, *einholen/überholen*. (Es curioso que no cite la obra fundamental de Ricoeur, *La métaphore vive* [Paris 1975]; que en la sección final *Sprachbild/Begriff* desconozca la sustanciosa exposición de G. Söhngen, *Analogie und Metapher* [Freiburg - München 1962]).

Antes de comenzar el análisis de textos propone una lista alfabética de «palabras clave» con algunas indicaciones esquemáticas. Son los «predicados poéticos» de sentencias metafóricas cuyo «sujeto lógico» es la muerte. 272 términos repartidos en los cuerpos sapiencial, cúltico y profético. La lista puede desconcertar al lector, que no encuentra p.e. *npl* ni *škb*, encuentra *derek* y *mal'āk*; son sólo palabras, no sintagmas compuestos. La lista se divide en tres series alfabéticas, según el grado de derivación.

Segue el análisis de 272 textos. Un cuaderno aparte ofrece dichos textos mecanografiados en tres columnas: alemán, hebreo, observaciones. No llevan indicación del lugar bíblico de origen; para identificarlos hay que acudir a las páginas 655-659 del volumen.

El análisis concede gran importancia a la clasificación tipológica con correspondiente etiqueta; no sólo de géneros literarios, sino de motivos y piezas dentro del género o poema. Se echa de menos un análisis de la función de la imagen en el poema como unidad de sentido.

En treinta páginas señala algunas líneas de la historia de tradiciones, y unas 25 páginas proponen un ensayo de síntesis teológica.

Indudablemente el autor ha abordado y tratado con amplitud un tema importante. Es probable y deseable que su importancia aumente en los años próximos. El estudio del lenguaje imaginativo de la Biblia nos hará más sensibles a una parte sustancial de nuestra tradición exegética y contribuirá a enriquecer la exégesis de textos poéticos. M. Krieg subraya la importancia de la *Poesis*. Los griegos hablaron de *poiesis* y *poiema*; el autor del salmo 45 lo llama *ma'say* = «mi poema».

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Luis ALONSO SCHÖKEL

Novum Testamentum

John T. CARROLL, *Response to the End of History*. Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts (SBL Dissertation Series 92). Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1988. VII-208 p. 14 x 21,4. \$ 19.95.

Professor Carroll took, as his doctoral thesis, the challenge to explain Lucan eschatology in itself and against the backdrop of many other attempts at the same subject, notably that of Hans Conzelmann (*Die Mitte der Zeit*, 1953). C.'s written format has three main parts. In the first chapter, C. presents a representative overview of scholarly opinions regarding Lucan eschatology and describes the exegetical method he will follow in the next two chapters; then, in a second chapter, C. explains his own understanding of eschatology in the Gospel of Luke; and finally, in the third chapter, C. explains his understanding of eschatology in the Acts of the Apostles. C. explicitly studies five texts of the Gospel (cc. 1-2; 12,35-48; 17,20-18,8; 19,11-27; 21,5-36); from Acts he chooses four texts for particular study (1,3-11; 2,17-21; 3,19-26; 28,17-31). C. includes five excursuses, of which one is especially interesting and entitled, «Individual Eschatology in Luke-Acts?».

The methodology of C. shows interest in the distinction between traditions inherited by Luke and Luke's own redactional contributions. However, out of a conviction that traditions were as approved by Luke as was his own editorial work, C. prefers ultimately to use the text as it stands as his subject of inquiry. Thus C. pays attention to the tradition-redaction problems, but his exegesis is finally determined by the horizontal relationships interwoven within each book and between the two books. This means that C. operates on the conviction that Luke wrote both Gospel and Acts, and that Luke agrees with everything he writes.

When C. says in his first chapter that he wishes to put order into the variety of opinions about Lucan eschatology, he has expressed one purpose of his writing. The greater goal of the book, however, is C.'s determination of the eschatology of Luke by a close reading of the text and a lively attention to the *Lucan* situation which determined the meaning of these texts. Let us give an example to elucidate the last point. C., willing to use the modified Two-Source Hypothesis as an operational principle, notes the difference between the situations of Mark and Luke: Mark writes before the destruction of Jerusalem, Luke afterwards. C. argues that it is reality itself which makes the later writer re-formulate the earlier writer's material, so that the destruction of Jerusalem can no longer be seen as the immediate prelude to cosmic signs (Mark 13), but must now be evaluated as a part of that history which has gone by without being a prelude to the end of this age. The «end» has shown itself simply not to be when Mark's description suggests it to be.

Thus, Luke's eschatology is different from Mark's (C. does not discuss what might have been the eschatology of Jesus) because Luke's situation is different than Mark's. It is here that C. takes particular issue with many scholars, principally with Conzelmann. Conzelmann noted Luke's «pushing to a distant future» the end-time of Mark and other sources, so that Luke's

Christian community is no longer an eschatologically-oriented community; Luke, then, was false to his traditions and opened the way for a type of Christianity which to a serious degree vitiated its origins. In partial answer to Conzelmann, C. maintains that Luke's situation was such that he was forced to adjust the «timing of the eschaton» to fit reality. But this appeal to Luke's situation yields more, according to C.

C. reads Luke in such a way that, contrary to Conzelmann, C. says Luke expects an imminent end to this age. Granted, C. says, that the end did not come to the first Christians, that one must adjust one's expectations, but, if one stands with Luke in his own time, the end is imminent. Not that one can spell out this end in years, days and hours, but it can be called imminent. This means that the Lucan community is still to be guided by, is still to live a morality imbued with, a lively awareness of the nearness of the end. Thus, though agreeing with Conzelmann that Luke sees the end of this age as appearing later than does Mark, C. disagrees with Conzelmann by affirming that Luke thought the end was imminent for his generation.

Consideration of Luke's situation also suggests to C. that there were elements of Luke's community who were disappointed that the end-time they had come to expect had not yet occurred. It is Luke's premiere contribution to keep alive in his community a morality based on the imminence of the end-time, even though Luke's imminence is different from that of past teachers. C. does not accept any attempt to reduce expectation of the end-time to preparation for the individual's own death. C. maintains that certainly Luke wants to prepare a person for death, but just as certainly wants to have his community attend to the reality of an imminent end to this age.

One essential element in C.'s explanation of Lucan thought on eschatology is that Luke had the conviction that the Gentile mission had to take place as one of those elements to be accomplished before the days and day of the Son of Man, before the appearance of those terrible signs in the heavens which signal the parousia. That this mission extended over a long period of time before Luke wrote explains why the end-time had not yet come, but evidently the continuation of this mission after Luke's writing is, as C. understands Luke, to be brief, for the end is, as C. understands Luke, imminent.

C. has explained well his reasons for the positions above and for others, too, which he spells out clearly in his book; his footnotes are plentiful, almost a book in themselves, and his appreciation of the main lines of scholarship regarding Lucan eschatology are rewarding.

Perhaps there are a few points which need clarification, at least for this reviewer. First, the arguments which C. marshalls to show that Luke expected an imminent end (however unknown be the year, day and hour) to this age have some merit, but fall short of being convincing. Personally, I feel that if C. did not have Conzelmann to contend with — that claim that Luke pushed aside any real thought of end-time — he would have analyzed Luke in such a way as to avoid attributing to Luke an "imminent" end-time. Secondly, I find it impossible to conclude from his writings that Luke thought there had taken place a "delay" of the end-time. Perhaps, in speaking of delay, C. means that to affirm only that some Christians thought there was a delay; Luke, as far as I can see, never explains the end-time in terms

of delay. On the contrary, Luke so saw the plan of God that he could think that things had not been determined for a time, then delayed, but that everything was right on time. "Delay" and "imminence", then, are two terms which need re-thinking in C.'s work, I believe.

Two smaller points. In explaining the Joel citation quoted by Peter in his Pentecostal speech, C. begins to follow a temporal sequence: first comes the outpouring of the Spirit, then will come the heavenly and earthly signs. It would seem that the "calling on the name of the Lord for salvation" would be a third temporal step. Thus, "calling on the name" would not belong to the period of the outpouring of the Spirit, but to that period after the cataclysmic world changes. Yet, C. seems to maintain that "calling on the name" is a practice of the time prior to the cataclysm. If the third element, "the calling on the name", is not consequent to the cataclysm, it must be properly explained, or one might ask why one assumes that the cataclysm stands in a temporal sequence to outpouring of the Spirit, but calling on the name, though put third, does not stand in a temporal sequence to the cataclysm.

Secondly, C. wants to understand *apokatastasis* to mean both restoration and fulfillment of promises; it is difficult to agree with C. that Luke has given arguments as to what Israel is to be "restored". "Restoration" suggests that one is being given what one had before; granted that Israel had earlier a king and twelve tribes and a holiness and the presence of the Spirit, it does not seem that Luke is looking forward to giving this back to Israel. I think C. does better to speak of Luke's expectations for union with God in terms of fulfillments of promises, outlined, as C. says, in Luke 1 and 2. Fulfillment of hopes, of promises seems a better category to use in Luke's case than does restoration.

If one wants a clear and broad statement of the problems concerning Lucan eschatological thinking, and a reasonable and reasoned integration of Luke's texts by virtue of a good and careful methodology, one has all this in this book by John T. Carroll — the difficulties raised above notwithstanding.

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Robert L. BRAWLEY, *Luke-Acts and the Jews. Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (SBL Monograph Series 33). Atlanta, Georgia, Scholars Press, 1987. 187 p. 23 × 15,2. US \$ 21.95.

The central thesis of this book is neatly summarized in its final paragraph. Its author asserts that "the standard paradigm for understanding Luke's view of the relation between Christianity and Judaism should pivot 180 degrees. That is, rather than setting gentile Christianity free, Luke ties it

to Judaism. And rather than rejecting the Jews, Luke appeals to them" (159). In addition, Brawley argues at length that a major purpose of Acts is to legitimate Paul (not Christianity in general) against his detractors. Brawley makes an important contribution to what has become a major point of debate in recent Lucan scholarship (for other views see Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia 1987]; Joseph Tyson (ed.), *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People* [Minneapolis 1988]), a debate in which our overall understanding of the purpose of Luke-Acts is at stake. Brawley's argument moves from a consideration of "Luke 4:16-30 and the Program of Luke-Acts" (chap. 2) to "Acts 1:8 and the Program of Acts" (chap. 3), "Legitimizing Techniques in Acts" (chap. 4), and "Paul in Acts" (chap. 5). The three following chapters discuss the role of Jewish groups in Luke-Acts («The Pharisees», chap. 6; "Sadducees, Priests, and Temple", chap. 7; "The Jewish Populace", chap. 8).

Brawley rejects the view that Luke 4,16-30 foreshadows Jewish rejection and the turn of the mission to gentiles in Acts. This view, he says, falsely interprets the references to Nazareth and Capernaum in 4,23-24 as ciphers for the Jews and the gentiles. "Far from anticipating the extension of the gospel to gentiles, the rejection in Nazareth eventuates in its extension to other Jews" (11). Brawley is right to align this scene with the conflict internal to Judaism pervading Jesus' ministry, a conflict prophesied by Simeon in 2,34-35. However, I do not think that Brawley succeeds in eliminating the possibility of a second level of meaning suggested by the contrast between Israel and the gentiles in 4,25-27. Brawley's efforts are inconclusive at this point.

Brawley also rejects the view that Acts 1,8 anticipates the transfer of the gospel from Jews (Jerusalem) to gentiles (Rome). I agree that 1,8 is not, strictly speaking, an outline of Acts. Furthermore, "the end of the earth" is not to be identified with Rome, and Jesus' commission to be witnesses "to the end of the earth" is not fulfilled by the end of Acts. Nevertheless, 1,8 is important as an outline of the mission, stating its beginning point and ultimate goal. It is closely related to other statements of God's saving purpose and Jesus' commission to his followers in Luke 2,30-32; 3,6, and 24,47. It seems necessary to emphasize this in order to balance Brawley's strong emphasis on the legitimation of Paul in Acts. While much of Acts focuses on Paul, the narrator, through the passages mentioned above, places the story of Paul in the context of the saving purpose of God that reaches out to the whole world. As Brawley recognizes, Paul in Acts is a missionary to both Jews and gentiles. His mission receives its theological meaning from the saving purpose of God for Jews and gentiles announced as early as Luke 2,30-32.

These remarks are meant to balance, but not reject, Brawley's emphasis on the fact that Acts 13-28 focuses almost exclusively on the mission and fate of Paul, ignoring other developments in the world mission. According to Brawley, "Luke employs prophetic prediction as a literary device to sanction its fulfillment" and "Acts 1:8 functions as a part of Paul's legitimation" (49). I agree but would not want to reduce the function of 1,8 to this. Brawley's discussion of "legitimizing techniques" is in-

formative but inconclusive for his purpose of highlighting Luke's defense of Paul, for most of the same techniques are used also with Jesus and Peter in Luke-Acts. Brawley recognizes this but insists that Luke is waging a major battle for Paul (65).

There is evidence to support Brawley's contention that Paul, especially, is a center of conflict. This evidence could have been presented more fully than Brawley does. Paul is accused by gentiles (Acts 16,19-21; 19,25-27), but the accusations by Jews are more fully developed. Their initial accusations in Jerusalem (21,20-21.28) are developed into a whole series of trial scenes in which these accusations persist. At the end of Acts Paul is still defending himself against the charge of being anti-Jewish (28,17-19). These accusations come from Jewish Christians (21,20-21) and from non-Christian Jews (21,28), both parties viewing Paul as an enemy of the Jewish people and its law. These observations fit Brawley's interesting discussion of Paul's forecast of future troubles in the Miletus speech. According to Brawley, this forecast refers to Jewish critics of Paul (20,29) and to critics within the church (20,30) who are either Jewish Christians or gentiles under the influence of the synagogue (83). This interpretation has the advantage of allowing the following narrative to interpret Paul's cryptic reference to opponents, rather than speculating about opponents on external grounds.

Brawley argues that the references to turning to gentiles in the face of Jewish opposition (Acts 13,46; 18,6; 28,28) do not imply a final abandonment of the Jews. I agree, but I find something missing in Brawley's discussion. In spite of the fact that Brawley can, on occasion, refer to Jewish rejection as a "scandal" that Luke must face (77), he generally pays too little attention to Jewish rejection as a serious theological problem for the narrator of Acts. The repeated passages that speak of turning to the gentiles while highlighting Jewish rejection imply that God's purpose of salvation for both Jews and gentiles through Jesus Messiah (Luke 2,30-32; 3,6) is not being fully realized for the Jews. The emphasis on Jewish rejection in the last major scene of Acts shows how serious the problem is for the narrator. This ending leaves us with the unanswered question of how God's ancient promise to the covenant people can now be fulfilled. This promise is central to the Lucan birth narrative and to the epitome of Paul's preaching to Jews in the synagogue sermon of Acts 13,16-41. Real pain at the way in which the mission has developed and concern to absolve Paul of responsibility for the negative Jewish reaction may help explain the ending of Acts and the striking emphasis on Paul's loyalty to Judaism.

Many scholars have noted the comparatively favorable treatment of Pharisees in Acts. Brawley argues that "in spite of the ambiguities, the Gospel already tends to present the Pharisees in comparatively favorable light and anticipates their posture in Acts" (84). It may be more accurate to recognize that the Gospel and Acts give different impressions of Pharisees. The necessity of reporting the developing break with Judaism may lead the narrator to favor, as a counterbalance, Jewish individuals and groups who might still be open to and have something in common with the new movement. Paul's Pharisaism and the positive response of Pharisees to his position (23,6-9; cf. 26,5) may serve both as apology for Paul and as a basis for

conciliation with some Jews. These purposes fit Brawley's understanding of the general Lucan purpose. They stand out the more clearly if we recognize here a definite shift from the way that Pharisees are depicted in the synoptic tradition, including Luke.

In discussing "the Jewish populace", Brawley asks whether the Jewish "crowd" is always identical in Luke-Acts (136). This is a fair question, for recent interpreters may have too quickly assumed the crowd's identity from scene to scene. Nevertheless, I have difficulty with Brawley's application of this point to the Lucan passion story. He believes that the "people" who join in shouting for Jesus' crucifixion (Luke 23,13.18) cannot be the same as the "multitude of the people" who follow Jesus in 23,27. However, the fact that this multitude is following Jesus from the place of judgment implies that it is the same, at least in its core. Contrary to Brawley's statement on p. 140, the women, not the multitude of people as a whole, mourn Jesus, as the feminine relative pronoun in 23,27 indicates. When the crowds begin to beat their breasts in 23,48, it is because the manner of Jesus' death has made an impression upon them. The attitude of the crowd in the passion story is unstable, but the narrative implies that there is a common core to this group, which is first led astray and then recognizes its complicity in the death of an innocent man. Peter will later hold the people responsible for Jesus' death and call them to repentance. Brawley emphasizes that Luke differentiates among Jews. In connection with the passion, however, the distinction is not between different crowds but between the Jews of Jerusalem, who are held responsible for Jesus' death, and other Jews who are not (note that Paul accuses the Jerusalemites, not his audience, in Acts 13,27-28). There is also a distinction between the people of Jerusalem and their leaders in that the people are open to repentance. Thus I agree with Brawley that the narrator differentiates among Jews but disagree on the interpretation of important details.

Brawley also asks whether the Jews in Rome represent their people as a whole (142) in the final scene of Acts. He rightly notes that the Roman Jews are divided, some of them showing openness to Paul's message. But Brawley also says that the narrator points to the unbelievers in Paul's audience to explain Paul's mission among the gentiles (143), for, according to Brawley, "Paul is Luke's problem, hardhearted Jews a part of the solution" (154) since they can be used to explain why Paul turns to the gentiles. I think this narrows the narrator's concern unduly. Paul is a problem, and hardhearted Jews are also a problem, giving rise to the theological problem of how God's promise can be realized, as I indicated above. The final scene in Rome highlights the seriousness of the problem, for even though the narrator does not make Paul's Jewish opponents in Rome simply the representatives of all Jews, the narrative has established a pattern of repeated rejection. The Roman Jews who reject Paul remind us of other Jews who have done the same. A narrative pattern gives us a sense of the overall trend, without implying that all Jews are alike. The narrator's choice to concentrate on the problem of Jewish rejection in the final scene, which is likely to make a lasting impression, shows the extraordinary importance of this problem. The problem is not to justify a gentile mission. That has already been done on the

basis of Scripture and Jesus' commission to his witnesses. The problem is how to be faithful to the mission, knowing that God's promise of salvation for Israel is presently being blocked by the many Jews who reject it. Paul announces that the mission will continue with those willing to hear the message, but he also has a word for his Jewish opponents. Borrowing the words of Isaiah, he speaks to them in hope that Scripture will help them see their blindness and hear their deafness. The announcement that the gentiles will hear the message of salvation (Acts 28,28) is meant to make obstinate Israel aware of what it is missing.

Brawley rightly notes that there is "a recurring pattern of conciliatory action on the part of those engaged in gentile mission for the sake of unity with Jewish Christians" (151). He cites the apostolic decree, the circumcision of Timothy, and Paul's participation in the temple ritual in Acts 21,23-26. I would add that the apostolic decree is more than a historical curiosity for the narrator. It is not forgotten after the Jerusalem conference but is reaffirmed by Paul in his care for the churches (16,4) and by the Jerusalem Christians when Paul visits them for the last time (21,25). I am also inclined to understand Paul's appeal to the hope of Israel in his last great speech (Acts 26) to be a serious proposal of a way in which the mission might continue among some Jews, in spite of the growing rift. Note that this speech begins as an apology but ends with a missionary appeal. Thus there are efforts both to conciliate Jewish Christians and to reopen the channel to unbelieving Jews.

Brawley makes an important contribution by emphasizing both the apology for Paul in response to Jewish criticism and the efforts in Acts at conciliation with Jewish Christians. While I have questioned aspects of his argument, I think his book leads us in the right direction in reassessing the Lucan purpose through rethinking the Lucan attitude toward the Jews.

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John S. KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity). Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1987. XVIII-377 p.

The Formation of Q is a gratifying book to read. Kloppenborg lifts some of the fog that has shrouded the discussion of the synoptic sayings source. *Formation* is also a nettlesome book to read. Among other reasons, its conclusions, though carefully drawn, sometimes outrun the evidence.

Kloppenborg's approach is, on the one hand, classic German source and redaction criticism. The former has provided him with the Two Source Theory, the latter with a tool for searching out *Grundworte*, commentary words, and secondary expansions much in the style of D. Luehrmann (*Die Redaktion*

der Logienquelle [Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969]). On the other hand, he is widely read in recent studies of the Hellenistic school traditions that formed part of the background to the NT and early Christian literature. His mentor here is A. Malherbe (*The Cynic Epistles* [Missoula, Montana 1977]). Kloppenborg is a member of the Society of Biblical Literature's Q Seminar whose organizer James M. Robinson wrote an essay on the genre of Q ("LOGOI SOPHON: On the Gattung of Q", James M. Robinson and H. Koester, *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* [Philadelphia 1971] 71-113) which provided part of the inspiration for the present volume (p. 27-32). Robinson also wrote the Forword. Kloppenborg has also recently published *Q Parallels* (Sonoma, California 1988).

Formation is poised at the cutting edge of current Life-of-Jesus research and offers a fresh contribution to the search for criteria of authenticity (see the articles by M. E. Boring and J. D. Crossan in C. W. Hedrick, ed., *The Historical Jesus and the Rejected Gospels. Semeia* 43 [1988]). According to Kloppenborg, the earliest form of Q presented Jesus as a sage who was a teacher and envoy of Sophia. Consequently, the more familiar synoptic depictions of Jesus (e.g., Messiah, apocalyptic prophet, miracle-worker, Pharisee) evolved out of this early portrait. On this theory of Q's formation, Hellenistic Jewish wisdom and the teaching thereof are now a substantive new measurement for testing what the Jesus of history might have said and done.

Formation is also a contribution to the issue of gospel genre. Kloppenborg's view is that the designation of *Kleinliteratur* for the NT is dated. In the case of Q, ancient sayings-collections provide enough formal similarities with Q to justify including it in this genre. Along with such scholars as Talbert and Dihle, Kloppenborg considers the gospels to be like biographies. Q is thus an important stage in the formation of the NT gospels because sayings-collections developed naturally and easily in the direction of biography (p. 327).

What do we learn about Q from Kloppenborg? In his extensive survey of research we learn, for example, that Q was a written document, composed in Greek, and that Luke has preserved best its original order. Out of his own research emerge a fresh reconstruction of the literary history of Q and a theory about the position of Q in the genre of sayings-collections. We learn, too, that Kloppenborg is so confident that there was a written document Q that he follows the convention endorsed by James M. Robinson of citing Luke's texts as, for example, Q 6:20b-49.

Q entered the world of literature as a written collection of sayings of Jesus, organized into six speeches (1) Luke 6,20b-49 (2) Luke 9,57-62; 10,2-16.21-24 (3) Luke 11,2-4.9-13 (4) Luke 12,2-12 (5) Luke 12,22-34 (6) Luke 13,24-30.34-35; 14,16-24.26-27; 17,33; 14,34-35. These speeches served as instruction for Q's preachers on the voluntary poverty of the community, renunciation of violence, the advent of the kingdom of God, and discipleship.

With its topically arranged groups of simple commands (sometimes augmented with clauses giving motives and purpose) Q resembled such instructional sayings collections as Amenemope (mid-second millennium BCE), the Counsels of Wisdom (late second millennium BCE), and Sirach (second century BC). At this stage, Q was predominantly an historical account of Jesus'

words and not a collection of sayings from early Christian prophets as Kelber and Boring have said (p. 35).

Q next evolved into a *chreiai* collection like those that have been preserved under the name of Diogenes, Antisthenes, and Bion. At this stage in its evolution, Q concentrated on the proclamation of judgment against "this generation" (that is, Israel) for its failure to embrace the kingdom. Harsh sayings of John the Baptist (Luke 3,7-9) and Jesus (Luke 11,24-26) and a *chreia*-like miracle story (Luke 7,1-10) that celebrated Gentile acceptance of the kingdom now became part of Q. It is at this point that Q also took in Son of Man sayings like Luke 11,30.

Finally, Q took on a more biographical cast by adding the Temptation Story (Luke 4,1-13) at the beginning. This was also a step toward legitimizing Jesus by depicting him as one tested even by Satan. The *Sayings of Ahikar* (fifth-seventh century BCE), the *Sentences of Aesop* (first century BC or BCE), and Lucian's *Life of Demonax* (second century CE) similarly open with biographical legitimations. In contrast to the *Gospel of Thomas* which developed the sayings-collection genre into esoteric instruction of the "living" Jesus, Q paved the way for a narrative and biographical account of Jesus' life and message (p. 31; see James M. Robinson's account of this development in "On Bridging the Gulf from Q to the *Gospel of Thomas* or Vice Versa", in C. W. Hedrick and Robert Hodgson, Jr., eds., *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* [Peabody, Mass. 1986] 127-175).

By calling our attention to the genre of ancient sayings-collections and by identifying important subgroups (instructions, gnomologia, and *chreiai* collections), Kloppenborg has contributed in a far-reaching way to our understanding of Q's literary family tree. Q is not *sui generis*. Rather, as we suggested in this journal a few years ago ("On the Gattung of Q: A Dialogue with James M. Robinson", *Bib* 66 [1985] 76), Q is related to the anthology or *florilegia* tradition some of whose branches serialized sayings of the wise.

Kloppenborg describes briefly the morphology, the setting and tone, and the hermeneutic of sayings-collections such as Amenemhat (second millennium BC Egypt), gnomologia such as Pseudo-Phocylides (first century BCE or CE, Alexandria?), and *chreiai* collections such as Lucian's *Life of Demonax* (second century CE). In the case of the instructions, Kloppenborg is indebted to the work of W. McKane (*Proverbs* [Philadelphia 1970]). His presentation of the gnomologia draws on the sources which M. Kuechler collected (*Früh-jüdische Weisheitstraditionem* [Freiburg 1979]).

How can a book that has achieved so much be so nettlesome at the same time? There is first the matter of curious gaps in its survey of research, in its selection of comparative material, and in its analysis of Q pericopes. In a book with such an extensive history of Q research we miss some customary courtesies. For example, Kloppenborg might have given the work of Wm. Farmer and his students its due. They have revived the Griesbach hypothesis and, in essence, done away with Q. Farmer's studies are an important line of research, are being carried forward in a new Society of Biblical Literature consultation, and, no matter how violently one disagrees with them, deserved attention. Kloppenborg's methodology has left important evidence unexamined. Understandably enough, he sought to limit his

comparative material to ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman sayings-collections. To offset this limitation he compared Q with collections spread out over almost three millennia. Nonetheless, this decision skewed the data and prejudiced his conclusions.

In the first place, such an approach has resulted in a study that does not really take Q's own historical setting seriously. Q is a document from first century CE Palestine. If *second millennium BCE* Egyptian instructions as well as *ninth century CE* gnomologia illumine Q's genre, do not, for example, the Qumran testimony-collections and anthologies merit some attention? They are very close to Q in time, place, and most importantly, genre.

In the second place, Kloppenborg has overlooked other branches of the anthology genre such as the *exempla* collection. Valerius Maximus, for instance, wrote for the emperor Tiberius in 31 CE the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem*. This collection is particularly relevant to the study of Q's genre, for it combines narratives with sayings, opens with a prologue, and, as an *exempla* collection, is a precursor to the Hellenistic biography.

Kloppenborg's otherwise meticulous analyses of Q's pericopes does not include the parable of the mustard seed (Luke 13,18-19), the parable of the leaven (Luke 13,20-21), and the parable of the talents (Luke 19,12-27). Nor does he deal with such Q legal sayings as those on the endurance of the Law (Luke 16,17) or on divorce (Luke 16,18). As he admits (p. 100), his redaction critical method does not work on Q texts whose relative position in Q is uncertain or on those texts which are not part of larger sequences of Q material. One wonders, however, if the fault lies entirely with the methodology. Has the postulate of a wisdom-sayings genre for Q contributed to the difficulty of assessing some of the non-sapiential and narrative texts in Q?

There are many other issues that we should like to raise with Kloppenborg: his assumption that Q did not include a Passion narrative, his conclusions about Q's theology or "formative principle", his redaction critical reconstruction of Q's formation and theology, his emphasis on formal rather than material comparisons between Q and instances of the sayings-genre, the social setting of Q in first-century Palestine, Q sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas* as well as the echoes of Q in Paul which A. T. Hanson has detected (*The Paradox of the Cross in the Thought of Saint Paul* [Sheffield 1987]), the role of preaching in the formation of Q, — to mention only a few of the seminal issues this important book raises.

The format and design of *Formation* are splendid. It is a pleasure to hold a hardbound book again! We noted only a few lapses of diction ("probable possibilities" [p. 42], "to apophthegmatize" [p. 118], and "to encumber the coherence" [p. 182]) and typos (e.g. *catanae* for *catenae* on p. 11 and ἀποβάλλωσιν for ἀπολάβωσιν on p. 175, n. 20). There is very little of importance missing from the bibliography except, for instance, the essays by E. E. Ellis and A. Polag, *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien* (ed. P. Stuhlmacher) (WUNT 28; Tübingen 1983).

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George MLAKUZHYL, *The Christocentric Literary Structure of the Fourth Gospel* (Analecta Biblica 117). Rome, Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1987. xviii-370 p. 24 x 16,5. Lit. 45.000.

Questo libro è una bella monografia, condotta con rigorosità metodologica e scritta in buon stile. L'A. infatti dall'inizio alla fine sottolinea la sua ricerca di oggettività scientifica, utilizzando un'ampia criteriologia letteraria, drammatica e strutturale (pp. 87-135). E chi studia il quarto vangelo (= QV) deve essergli grato per aver sintetizzato in modo chiaro e preciso un problema attuale dei più discussi: la struttura letteraria del QV, cui si può ben applicare il detto: «Tot capita tot Sententiae». A mio avviso però tale situazione critica non è dovuta *solo alla soggettività* degli studiosi, come sembra supporre l'A.; ma anche alla ricca complessità del QV, ad un *dato* quindi *obiettivo*. Basti pensare infatti quanto sia diverso, e più semplice, lo stesso problema per quanto riguarda i vangeli sinottici.

Ma veniamo alla *tesi strutturale-teologica*, che si pone a livello del «testo come sta» e ne studia i rapporti fra le varie parti in modo da farne emergere l'unità organica ed armonica, letteraria e teologica. Il metodo strutturale è stato applicato allo studio dei libri sacri in questi ultimi decenni. Noti sono gli studi di A. Vanhoye sulla *Lettera agli Ebrei* e di U. Vanni sull'*Apocalisse* (cui rimanda la n. 1 a p. 1); Vanhoye in particolare è stato direttore di questo lavoro scientifico (p. XIX) e ne ha stilato una lusinghiera presentazione (pp. xvii-xviii). Mlakuzhyl, pur utilizzando il metodo strutturale, giudica necessario regolare dapprima i conti col metodo storico-critico (pp. 5-16), perché, almeno alcune teorie sull'origine del QV, vengono a negare la sua unità letteraria. La tesi conclusiva, su questo punto, sembra essere quella delle «due redazioni», nella sua forma più moderata; sarebbe del redattore ultimo, oltre al capo 21 anche 12,44-50 e 4,50 (p. 13). Io avrei aggiunto anche 17,3 (Cf. M.-E. Boismard-A. Lamouille, *L'évangile de Jean* [Paris 1977] 392-401; G. Segalla, *La preghiera di Gesù al Padre* (Giov. 17) [Brescia 1983] 35-36).

Dopo aver esaminato le principali proposte di struttura letteraria, suddivise in 24 tipi ed aver concluso: «The weakness of most of the structures proposed is that they have not examined the various kinds of criteria the Johannine author has employed...» (p. 85), passa, di conseguenza, nella terza parte, a proporre in modo sistematico ben 28 criteri utili per individuare la struttura, organizzati in: 12 criteri letterari, 12 drammatici e 4 strutturali, non tutti ugualmente importanti e non tutti ovviamente applicabili allo stesso testo. Pur essendo tanto numerosi, non sono tuttavia esaustivi; anzi, come noteremo più avanti, vengono esaltati i criteri drammatici in sfavore di quelli propriamente narrativi.

La tesi strutturale viene dimostrata progressivamente: per le parti principali, per le sezioni delle tre parti e le loro strutture. La macrostruttura sarebbe costituita da due parti principali o libri: il libro dei segni di Gesù (2,1-12,50) e il libro dell'ora di Gesù (11,1-20,29) con una introduzione (1,1-2,11) ed una conclusione (20,30-31) cristocentriche ed un'appendice, aggiunta dal secondo redattore, il capo 21. La prima parte ha in comune con l'introduzione una pericope-ponte (2,1-11). L'A. procede quindi ad esaminare

le cinque sezioni, in cui sono strutturati i due libri: cinque sezioni come i cinque episodi della maggior parte delle tragedie greche (pp. 189-191). Delle cinque, quella centrale (11,1-12,50) si ripete, nella struttura, perché è una sezione-ponte. Ne risulterebbe il seguente profilo strutturale:

Christological Introduction (1,1-2,11)

I. *The Book of Jesus' Signs* (2,1-12,50)

1. Jesus' Initial Signs and Encounters (from Cana to Cana) (2,1-4,54)
2. Jesus' Works, Signs and Discussions (at Jewish Feasts) (5,1-10,41)
3. The Climactic Sign and the Coming of Jesus' Hour (Bridge Section) (11,1-12,50).

II. *The Book of Jesus' Hour* (11,1-20,29)

3. The Climactic Sign and the Coming of Jesus' Hour (Bridge Section) (11,1-12,50)
4. Jesus' Farewell of the Hour (at last Supper) (13,1-17,26)
5. The Hour of Jesus (Passion-Death-Resurrection) (18,1-20,29).

Christocentric Conclusion (20,30-31)

Appendix (21,1-25) (p. 238).

Lo studio della particolare struttura di ognuna delle cinque sezioni porta alla conclusione che le due prime e le due ultime presentano una struttura chiasmatica, mentre quella centrale (11,1-12,50) è invece strutturata in forme parallele. Inoltre l'introduzione e la conclusione si corrispondono chisticamente: l'inno testimoniale (1,1-18), il kerygma testimoniale (1,19-51) e l'introduzione storica del segno (2,1-11) corrispondono, rispettivamente, alla conclusione storica dei segni (20,30), a quella cristologica (20,31abc) ed a quella soteriologica (20,30d) (pp. 238-241).

Nell'ultima parte «La struttura letteraria e la teologia cristocentrica del QV» (pp. 243-347), l'A. intende mettere in luce il rapporto fra struttura e teologia. Scopo modesto è «to see whether the literary structure we have detected helps us to discover the *theological axis* around which all the other theological themes are developed» (p. 243). Il progetto viene eseguito in due momenti successivi; nel primo vengono studiati i temi teologici maggiori in relazione alla struttura letteraria, utilizzando, per la scelta dei criteri: 1) la loro frequenza; 2) il confronto del vocabolario giovanneo con quello dei sinottici per rilevarne sia quanto è comune sia la specificità; 3) il terzo criterio è propriamente strutturale, in quanto vengono scelti dei temi, presenti nell'introduzione e conclusione (pp. 243-244). In base a tali criteri vengono scelti i temi seguenti: il Cristo/Messia, il Figlio di Dio (e, all'interno: il Figlio, il Padre e il Figlio dell'uomo), i segni (e le opere), i discepoli, il «credere» e la vita eterna. Esaminati così i temi principali, in un secondo momento l'A. segue il filo della struttura per scoprirvi il cristocentrismo teologico progressivo: da Gesù che si rivela Messia e, implicitamente, Figlio di Dio (2,1-4,56) si passa alla rivelazione del «Figlio di Dio» (5,1-10,42); e inoltre

in tutte le sezioni compare come «il Datore della vita». Solo dalla conoscenza della sua origine e della sua destinazione si potrà capire l'identità e la missione di Gesù, che ama i suoi fino a dare la vita e richiede loro lo stesso amore gli uni per gli altri.

Per quanto difficile, ho cercato di sintetizzare brevemente una tesi molto articolata e ricca, per passare ad una sua *valutazione critica*. La comprensività dell'analisi iniziale, lo sforzo di raccogliere in sintesi tutti i criteri possibili per un giudizio obiettivo, il partire dal e ritornare sempre al testo, la precisione pignola delle analisi, riassunte spesso in comodi specchietti e schemi, il rapporto fra struttura letteraria e teologia del QV e non ultima l'importanza dell'analisi strutturale per la comprensione di uno scritto: sono i molteplici aspetti positivi di questo studio, che segue degnamente le orme di A. Vanhoye ed U. Vanni. Acquisite mi sembrano: la struttura in due grandi parti principali e le sezioni in cui sono strutturate (a parte Gv 18-20). Ma, come dicevo all'inizio, proprio la stupenda perfezione del disegno induce ad alcune osservazioni critiche generali e particolari.

Le osservazioni di *carattere generale* riguardano principalmente i *criteri* e la loro applicazione. Mi lasciano, anzitutto, perplesso la *sopravalutazione dei criteri drammatici* e il loro accostamento alla «tragedia greca» con «prologo - cinque episodi - epilogo» (pp. 189-191). Altro è infatti che nel QV vi siano «motivi» drammatici altro è che il QV corrisponda al genere letterario della «tragedia». La tragedia è scritta in poesia, per essere rappresentata su una scena, e propone cicli di storie epiche, dove il contrasto dei personaggi crea altissime tensioni di sentimenti e di idee. È difficile pertanto pensare che L'A. del QV, nella struttura della sua opera con «prologo - cinque sezioni - epilogo» si sia ispirato ad essa persino nei particolari tecnici come la voce fuori scena di Gesù in 12,44-50. È la persona stessa di Gesù, a mio avviso, che porta come protagonista «drammatico» a situazioni analoghe a quelle della «tragedia greca».

Questa sopravalutazione dei criteri drammatici ha indotto a porre troppo spesso in secondo piano l'*aspetto narrativo* ed una *narrazione*, che utilizza tradizioni anteriori. Per l'aspetto narrativo ricordo solo un criterio trascurato dall'A.: l'intreccio dei brani e quello di varie tradizioni nello stesso brano. L'intreccio narrativo ha lo scopo di creare continuità narrativa tra brani di tradizione, originariamente staccati; lo stesso scopo hanno anche i sommari. Nella prima sezione della prima parte (2,1-4,54): 3,2 presuppone il sommario immediatamente precedente (2,23-25); lo stesso intreccio si può scorgere in 4,45, che si richiama pure a 2,23-25; 4,46.54 richiamano, in forma inclusiva, 2,1-11. Lo stesso si dica di 10,40 che richiama 1,28; così pure 11,2 e 12,3 ecc. Quanto all'intreccio di tradizioni nello stesso brano, l'esempio più bello è forse 11,1-16 in relazione al racconto seguente di 11,17-53. L'A. fa un'analisi alquanto semplificante di 11,1-16: «but after Lazarus' death he decides to go to Bethany at the risk of his own life» (11,7-16) (p. 215). In realtà, l'andata a Betania per risuscitare Lazzaro e quella in Giudea col rischio di essere ucciso sono intrecciate nel modo seguente: 11,1-6 (tradizione di Lazzaro); 11,7-10 (tradizione della Giudea); 11,11-15 (tradizione di Lazzaro); 11,16 (tradizione della Giudea e del rischio di morte). La parola-gancio che rivela l'intreccio della tradizione di Lazzaro con quella del rischio di morte è *agômen* ai

vv. 7,15 e 16; il v. 15 diviene così un v. ponte al v. 16. Ora, questi due motivi, di Lazzaro e del rischio di morte, in tensione ed intrecciati preparano la duplice narrazione seguente: la risurrezione di Lazzaro (11,17-44) e la condanna a morte (11,45-52).

Un ulteriore criterio per la struttura potrebbe essere ricavato dal *modo di citare la Scrittura*, come ha dimostrato C. A. Evans («On the Quotation Formulas in the Fourth Gospel», *BZ NF* 26 [1982] 79-83). Ne deriverebbe che solo 12,37-50 potrebbe costituire il brano-ponte fra le due parti, e non i capitoli 11-12.

Nella struttura parallela delle sezioni (pp. 191-238) viene utilizzato spesso il criterio del vocabolario (ad es. pp. 209.218-219). A mio avviso tale criterio è valido solo se si esaminano *tutti i vocaboli* di un brano, come io stesso ho tentato di fare per Gv 17 (*La preghiera di Gesù al Padre*, 85-89). Ma se si prende come criterio la comparsa di un vocabolo «tre o più volte» si può incorrere in errori di valutazione. A p. 209 l'A., per provare che 10,1-21 è separato da 10,22-42 utilizza dieci vocaboli, di cui solo tre si trovano nel primo brano. Però quei due brani hanno in comune almeno altri due vocaboli significativi per il tema trattato, anche se non compaiono «tre volte»: *probata* (16 volte nel primo brano e due nel secondo), e *harpazō* (10,12.28-29), che dicono quanto sia legato 10,1-21 almeno a 10,22-30, il quale ultimo, potrebbe costituire il brano-ponte dalla prima (10,1-21) alla seconda parte (10,31-39), ed appartenere quindi ad ambedue. Il motivo di questo errore metodologico è il fatto che non vi è nessun vangelo dove la terminologia sia così profondamente intrecciata come nel QV. Se selezioniamo le nostre analisi, possiamo ottenere quello che vogliamo; ma dubito che otteniamo quanto intendeva l'A. del QV. È più o meno quanto ha fatto Mlakuzhyl nell'analisi strutturale delle singole sezioni. Questo probabile errore di prospettiva emerge con maggiore evidenza nell'analisi teologico-cristologica della struttura letteraria (la seconda parte del capo 5), dove l'A. deve compiere degli autentici *tour de force* per dimostrare il parallelismo fra le varie parti, riducendosi alla fine al principio ermeneutico (peraltro esatto) della duplice condizione di Gesù: umana e divina. Anche qui porto solo due esempi vistosi. Egli intitola i brani paralleli 6,1-71 e 10,1-21: «Jesus, the prophet-king, the Son of God, the bread of life, the life-giving shepherd» (p. 315), trascurando completamente «Figlio dell'uomo», che ricorre ben tre volte nei passi cruciali del discorso di Gesù (6,27.53.62), ed è legato al tema del «pane di vita, disceso dal cielo» perché il titolo «Figlio dell'uomo» è legato allo schema «discesa-ascesa» (Cf. anche 6,38). A p. 210 l'A. nota giustamente i paralleli fra 7,1-8, 59 e 9,1-41 senza trarre la logica conseguenza che si tratta di una sezione unitaria.

Passando alle *osservazioni particolari* sulla proposta di struttura letteraria, mi limito a tre rilievi, che ritengo importanti: 1) il rapporto fra introduzione (1,1-2,11) e conclusione (20,30-31); 2) il rapporto fra il capitolo iniziale ed il capitolo 20; 3) la struttura concentrica di 6,35-42.

L'A. vede un rapporto chiasmatico fra introduzione (1,1-2,11) e conclusione (20,30-31) (p. 147). La proposta è attraente, ma non convincente. Infatti 20,30, che parla di «*alla sêmeia*» si riferisce, con probabilità, a tutto il vangelo, a partire certo da 2,1-11; tanto più che la stessa morte-risurrezione di Gesù viene letta anticipatamente come «segno» (2,18-19). 20,31abc, che con-

tiene due titoli di Gesù, potrebbe riferirsi ad 1,19-51, dove sono concentrati i principali titoli cristologici (ma cf. anche 11,27). E infine 20,31d (conclusione soteriologica) potrebbe richiamare il prologo (1,1-18); ma anche e più, altre parti del vangelo (ad es. 5,19-30). La conclusione si riferisce quindi a tutto il vangelo, partendo ovviamente dall'introduzione. Non mi convince completamente neppure l'ultima sezione unitaria (18,1-20,29). A parte l'evidente inclusione in *kêpos* di 18,1 con 19,41, non tolta dall'inclusione interna di 18,1-27, l'A. deve usare tutta la sua abilità per rapportare 20,19-29 a 18,1-14; e 20,1-18 a 18,12-27. Invece, a mio avviso, è più evidente il rapporto del capo 20 col capitolo 1; si possono addurre tre argomenti validi: 1) l'inclusione nella confessione di Gesù «*theos*» (1,1.18 e 20,28); 2) il ritorno in 20,1-29 della struttura letteraria in due dittici come in 1,19-51; 3) infine, un rapporto particolare col secondo dittico di 1,35-51: i primi discepoli cercano Gesù (1,38) come la Maddalena (20,15); nel primo dittico del capo 20 compaiono Pietro e l'altro discepolo come in 1,35-42 e nel secondo la figura di Tommaso dubbioso è analoga a quella di Natanaele.

Una breve critica, infine, alla struttura concentrica di 6,35-42 (p. 130), che usualmente è invece delimitata a 6,36-40, un brano di tradizione, originariamente autonomo, e qui inserito per il tema della «discesa dal cielo»; è evidente poi che 6,41-43 formano un'altra piccola unità letteraria con struttura concentrica (a-b-a') per il tema inclusivo di «mormorare». Non la si può quindi smembrare.

Si potrebbe continuare con simili osservazioni critiche, che intendono essere peraltro un contributo alla discussione. Nella proposta strutturale dell'A. vi è qualche elemento artificiale. Ma l'insieme è eccellente ed ogni studioso del QV dovrà confrontarsi con questa opera, che lo stesso A. considera aperta: «The structure we have suggested is proposed not as the last word but as one based on a large number and different types of criteria...» (p. 350).

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Varia

Israel FINKELSTEIN, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1988. 380 p. 24,5 x 17,5. US \$ 36.00.

The problem of the 'settlement' (to use the least question-begging term) of the ancient Israelites on their land has been with us for a long time, and prominent among biblical and archaeological scholars' concerns for the last century. Many have presented the problem as primarily one of biblical exegesis, and many have tried to meet the problem by harmonizing biblical and

archaeological evidence. Finkelstein reconstructs the process of settlement primarily on the basis of archaeological evidence (as available up to 1987), almost (but not quite) ignoring the biblical evidence. Finkelstein strongly attacks biblicists who feel that archaeology "has virtually nothing to contribute to the understanding of the Israelite settlement" (p. 20), and criticizes archaeologists who limit themselves to seeking direct correspondence between excavation finds and the biblical text, ignoring the new approach of regional surveys. He argues that "it is impossible to come to grips with the settlement episode without a thoroughgoing acquaintance with at least one region of the hill country — in which the events took place", and he meets his own demand by presenting the results of a full survey of the region of Ephraim, and of the re-excavation of Shiloh, as the basis for and focus of his reconstruction of the settlement.

'Introduction and History of Research' (ch. 1) is followed by 'The Characteristics of Israelite Settlement Sites' (ch. 2). Anticipating the results of the Ephraim survey, Finkelstein notes that 'Israelite' sites are those of the southern and central sectors of the hill country which were not Canaanite or Philistine (easily identifiable by their pottery), and are characterized by their small size (the largest are 10 dunams), their pillared buildings and silos, their limited pottery repertoire (mainly cooking pots and storage jars), and their lack of public buildings and fortifications. We must note here that Finkelstein's focus on the southern and central sectors of the hill country is based on the biblical evidence that "This region played a major role in the period of the Judges, and the center of the hill tribes in the early 11th century was located in its midst, at Shiloh" (p. 227). "The most important of these centers was the one at Shiloh, whose special role at the time is elucidated in I Samuel — a historical work, as all agree" (p. 27). "The starting point of a discussion about the characteristics of Israelite Settlement sites is the historical biblical text (the only source available), which specifies the location of the Israelite population at the end of the period of the Judges and at the beginning of the Monarchy" (p. 28). Biblical texts, in fact, have determined Finkelstein's starting point — though he is ready to admit that "what they really reflect is the version that was current in Jerusalem at the end of the period of the Monarchy" (p. 337).

In ch. 3, Finkelstein surveys the Iron I archaeological data presently available, region by region, to give a context for the results of his own survey of Ephraim and the re-excavation of Shiloh. In general, Finkelstein tends to lower hitherto accepted settlement dates. Thus in the *Beersheba valley* "extremely sparse Israelite settlement began... only in the 11th century" (T. Mašōs is discounted as non-Israelite). *Benjamin's* Israelite settlement concentrated on the eastern ridge and desert fringe, beginning early Iron I (T. el-Fūl is dated c. 1200-1050 BC and T. en-Naṣbeh from the 12th, not the 14th [Aharoni] century). In *Ephraim* Kh. Raddana and Ai are dated from the mid-12th cent. In *Manasseh*, with its "almost unparalleled site density" (p. 81), Zertal's 13th century dating for the beginning of settlement is lowered, with the Mt Ebal cultic site beginning mid-12th cent. In the *Jezreel valley* Israelite settlement begins with Davidic conquest in the 10th cent., in *Lower Galilee* in the 12th cent., in the hills of *West Galilee* from the 11th cent. In

Upper Galilee the settlements are associated on pottery evidence with Hazor XII and their date lowered to the 11th century.

This catalogue is important, for the effect of it is to indicate that in the central hill country of Ephraim and Manasseh settlement sites were common from the early 12th century (alongside existing Canaanite cities), but that in Galilee to the north and the Beersheba valley to the south settlement sites belonged to the 11th century, while the Jezreel valley was not taken and settled by Israelites until the 10th cent. BC. Finkelstein's rejection of Zertal's thesis that Manasseh was settled from the eastern steppe (p. 90) is important, and depends on conclusions drawn from the survey of Ephraim, in which Finkelstein sees the nature of the settlement sites as pointing to the *pastoral*, not desert-nomadic or urban, background of the settlers.

The ground thus cleared, Finkelstein presents the results of his Ephraim survey. This is the heart of the book. Six regions are defined: the Desert Fringe (between the Central Range and the Jordan); the Northern and Southern Central Range; the Northern and Southern Western Slopes; and the western Foothills. On the basis of early 20th-century Arab settlement patterns, Finkelstein notes that the Desert Fringe was primarily given over to animal husbandry, the Central Range to cereals (with some animals in the east), the Northern Western Slopes to cereals and horticulture, the Southern Western Slopes to olives, and the Foothills to cereals and pasturage. MB IIB-C, LB, Iron I and II settlement patterns are plotted for these regions, with the following results: in MB II, settlement was concentrated in the Desert Fringe and Northern Central Range; in the LB there was a dramatic fall in the number of sites, which were now limited to the Central Range and absent from the Western Slopes; in Iron I a new influx repopulated the Desert Fringe and Northern Central Range, 90% of Iron I early phase sites being on the eastern side of the region, but by Iron I phase 2 62% being on the Western Slopes and Foothills. This western trend continued into Iron II, during which the total number of sites occupied doubled, and a decrease of sites on the eastern side was compensated for by the doubling of sites on the Western Slopes and in the Foothills. This means that the initial settlement lay in the areas of field crops and animal husbandry (Desert Fringe, Northern Central Range, and the Bethel plateau), and later in Iron I and in Iron II shifted to the regions of cereals and horticulture (Northern Western Slopes) and olive growing (Southern Western Slopes) (it was in Iron II that these slopes were deforested; Finkelstein applies Josh 17,15-17 to this period, not to the original settlement). This in turn suggests that the initial settlers came from a pastoral, not urban, background (so Finkelstein rejects the Gottwald thesis). The study of the distribution of pottery types supplies an important correlation: collared-rim store jars were more prominent in areas of horticulture and less in areas of cereal cultivation (thus they make up 40.1% of sherds in the Desert Fringe, 68.1 and 68.9% in the Southern Western Slopes and Foothills respectively [p. 184]), and it is suggested that the collared-rim jars were containers for liquids — wine, olive oil, water. But should not this suggest also on Finkelstein's reconstruction of the spread of settlement that these vessels became important in the second phase of Iron I and in Iron II, when settlement sites expanded into the Southern Western Slopes, the olive growing area

par excellence? One notes too that the percentage of collared-rim store jars is *highest* in the Foothills, where "horticulture plays only a small role in the economy, while field crops are the basis of subsistence", and "the rocky ridges are not suitable for orchards" (p. 138). The high percentage of these jars in the Foothills might be explained by their export thither from the production area, but still, the colonization of the Southern Western Slopes belongs to the later Iron I and Iron II, and these collared-rim store jars belong to Iron I (and ceased to be made in the 11th century, though remaining in use into the 10th [p. 281]). Finkelstein notes that these jars vanished in the 10th cent., and says that "at first sight this would seem to be surprising, for it was precisely during that era that the olive oil and wine industries flourished in the hill country". It would seem that if collared-rim store jars were so large a feature of the Foothills' assemblage, either they were more common in the later Iron I and II than was thought, or they were used mainly for something other than olive oil and wine — presumably water.

Finkelstein includes at this point his preliminary report on the Shiloh excavations (1981-84) (cf. *TA* 12 [1985] 123-180), which revealed Shiloh to be in all probability a cultic rather than a residential site from MB II onwards. The unwallled MB II site was given a wall and a glacis in MB IIC; inside the wall a row of store-rooms preserved cultic objects and offerings. At the end of MB II the site was destroyed, but there is evidence of continued cultic activity in LB. After a period of abandonment, new large pillared public (?) buildings appeared, cut into the glacis and backing onto the outer face of the old MB wall, in the late 12th or early 11th century BC. Finkelstein thus sees Shiloh at its zenith in the first half of the 11th century, as an inter-regional sanctuary for the Israelite population of the central hill country before the Philistines destroyed it in the mid-11th century. As a sanctuary, Finkelstein believes (with Lemaire, against Noth) that it antedates Bethel and Gilgal; it belonged to the settlement of Manasseh, Ephraim and Benjamin (but not to the now developing Israelite population of Upper Galilee, Judah and Beersheba); after the destruction of Shiloh, Finkelstein believes that the center of Israelite population moved southward to the Bethel region.

The dating of the sanctuary which Finkelstein assumes to have crowned the tell (for no physical evidence remains) and the public buildings possibly to be associated with it has been arrived at partly by acceptance of Albright's view that the destruction evidenced archaeologically was caused by the biblically evidenced Philistine destruction of Shiloh, partly by the associated pottery (especially the collared-rim store jars), and partly by the pillared architecture. In some ways the most interesting chapter of the book is ch. 6, 'Early Israelite Architecture'. Finkelstein argues that the elliptical courtyard sites of the Negev highlands "represented an early stage in the sedentarization of desert nomads, with both the outline of the individual tent and the layout of the group encampment translated into stone construction" (p. 244). The occupants of such sites ('Izbet Šarṭah str. III, Ḥorvat Avoth, Kh. et-Tina, Beersheba VII, Tel. Esdar III) were herdsman. In these late 13th century-early 12th cent. courtyard sites the surrounding line of broadrooms copied the original line of tents. These rooms sometimes had monolithic pillars along the wall facing into the courtyard, and from them longrooms were built

out at right angles into the courtyard, with two rows of pillars. (The pillars may have been developed as a stone version of the original tentpoles, or developed as a technique to compensate for the slope of the ground in house-building; Finkelstein argues that they appear in the central hill country by the 12th century and spread thence to Beersheba in the south and Tell Qasile to the west.) This development was the origin of the casemate wall, the offsets and insets of later city walls, the four-roomed house, and the pillared store-houses of the monarchic period (cf. the earlier suggestions of Kempinski, Fritz and Herzog).

This evidence from Ephraim and Shiloh is used to illuminate the vexed question of the Israelite settlement. Finkelstein gives a clear critique of the three main schools of thought: the unified military conquest theory fails for lack of evidence of LB Canaanite occupation at sites central to the OT narrative and for lack of evidence of Israelite settlement above destroyed Canaanite cities; the peaceful infiltration theory fails for lack of archaeological evidence of infiltration from the eastern steppes (or anywhere else); the 'Sociological School' fails because it ignored the material culture and settlement patterns of the incomers, which did not derive from the urban background of lowland Canaan.

Finkelstein sees the Israelite settlement in the context of the history of the population of Canaan from the prosperous MB IIB through the 'severe crisis in settlement' of LB to the revival of Iron I. He asks 'two critical questions': "why and to where did over half the MB II population 'vanish'? From where did the people who settled the hundreds of sites in Iron I 'materialize'?" His answer is that the MB IIB population did not shrink, but moved under enormous social pressures (taxation, war, insecurity, pressure on resources) from being sedentary to becoming pastoralist. He notes the archaeological evidence of isolated sanctuaries (Amman airport, Tell Deir Allā, Shiloh, Tell Mevorakh, Tananir, the Fosse Temple at Lachish), cemeteries in marginal zones, and the Egyptian references to the *shāsu*. The very failure of Canaanite society to produce grain to feed the pastoralists forced them to resettle (p. 346), moving out of the 'frontier zones' (the hill country and Transjordanian plateau) into the areas conducive to the growth of cereal crops and animal pasturage, in regions outside the immediate control of the larger Canaanite cities of the Jezreel valley and coastal plain.

This solution is neat, for the evidence that a pastoralist leaves behind of his doings is quickly obliterated, except in an otherwise untouched desert, and cannot easily be monitored. But it seems to require us to suppose that throughout the LB period the Ephraim region became dotted with tents instead of stone-built sites. If so, were their inhabitants any more secure, any better provided for? If the number of settlement sites dropped dramatically in the LB, is it not equally possible that at least some of the MB II-C inhabitants of the hill country migrated to the Canaanite cities (or even to Egypt!)? The re-settlers of Iron I would not necessarily have forgotten (and would quickly have relearned) the basic skills of the pastoralist and agriculturalist.

The thesis as a whole is impressive, and the reconstruction of the process of settlement in Ephraim a *tour de force*, even though queries about the divi-

sion of sites between early and later Iron I (p. 192) and about the use of collared-rim store jars come to mind. Finkelstein's proposal to see the settlement sites of Ephraim as indigenous has a point; it is fair to ask, "If we had not the biblical narrative, would we have ever suggested on the basis of archaeological evidence that these settlers had come from across the Jordan?" On the other hand, it is clear that they had some connection with their contemporaries on the Transjordanian plateau (fellow *shāsu*?), and this requires further consideration. How regional is regional? The precise connection between the settlement of Ephraim in the 12th-11th centuries and the (subsequent?) settlement of the Beersheba and Galilean regions in the 11th century also needs further investigation; Finkelstein argues that archaeological evidence shows the gradual southward expansion of Israelites from Ephraim and Manasseh to Benjamin and Judah in the 11th and 10th centuries respectively, and appeals to Judges 1 to show that Judah was settled from the north. Many scholars, however, have argued from the biblical evidence that Judah and Israel were settled in quite different movements, and without a detailed consideration of the literary evidence (which was no part of Finkelstein's purpose) his appeal to Judges 1 is invalid. One wonders further whether the early Israelite architecture of the several regions is necessarily so sequentially derivative as Finkelstein argues.

'Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret'; the biblical evidence, like Nature, keeps returning, and Finkelstein cannot resist appealing to it, when it suits and indeed starts from it. This valuable thesis should stimulate much further examination of the biblical traditions of Israel's settlement, for not all will be happy with Finkelstein's very limited acceptance of "a kernel of veracity" in the "deeply-rooted tradition concerning the origin of Israel in Egypt" (p. 348). Whatever the truth about the Egyptian tradition, however, Finkelstein has made a most important contribution to our understanding of Iron I settlement in the central hill country, and one hopes that further similar regional surveys will follow.

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Lucien LEGRAND, *Le Dieu qui vient. La mission dans la Bible.*
Paris, Desclée, 1988. 235 p. 22 × 14,5.

Twenty years and more after its close most Roman Catholics still have no clear idea of what actually took place at the Second Council of the Vatican. But for those who do the implications are proceeding apace. Lucien Legrand went to India from Europe in 1953 as a "missionary" with a thorough if conventional preparation in biblical studies. In the intervening years he has remained professionally alert and productive in his field of study and in addition has become as familiar as a foreigner can reasonably be expected

to become with the cultural riches of South Asia. In *Le Dieu qui vient* he attempts the difficult feat of standing back and examining in faith the Bible to see how the personages portrayed in that vast library of divine and human initiative have understood what the word "mission" involves.

Légrand divides his work into four main areas: 1) the Old Testament (pp. 15-56); 2) the Good News of Jesus (pp. 57-119); 3) the primitive Church and its sense of mission (pp. 121-191); 4) conclusions and questions (pp. 193-210).

In his study of the Old Testament Légrand cautions against facile choices between pluralism and straightforward development in analyzing what has taken place, but concludes that in substance Mission can be viewed as the mustering of an Exodus people en route, and continually brought back to its destiny by its history and its God. The people is called by God ("Viens!") and sent by him ("Pars!"). God is the One who is really responsible for the mission of Israel.

In summarizing his treatment of the Good News of Jesus Légrand begins with the resurrection and its breaking down of Old Testament particularity. With the resurrection the eschatological future of the Old Testament begins to be realized in the "now" of the New, and humans are entrusted with the working of the harvest. It is the presence of Jesus and his Spirit which underlies all Mission. Transparence with regard to the Gospel and authenticity are essentials for anyone who engages in Mission, and the human dimension of Jesus must be honored: his relation to Israel and her destiny in faith as Abraham's people called by God.

To get the pulse of the primitive Church Légrand looks to Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, to Paul (with particular attention to Romans as a missionary document), and to John (with particular attention to John 17 as a missionary prayer).

In his conclusions and questions Légrand stresses the rich variety with which Mission is manifested: the election and universalism of the Old Testament, the Mission characteristic of the New with its central axes of the Jewish Mission of Peter and the Gentile Mission of Paul. Missionary presence was immensely diverse according to the different types of society in which it developed. But amidst this variety some converging patterns can be seen: belief in God as one and all-powerful and therefore as one whose reign should extend to the whole world; creation by God of Israel in the Old Testament and the Church in the New, an election which is a complementary pole of Mission; the Word which calls, brings together, judges, guides this people; Jesus of Nazareth the Word become flesh; the authenticity of witness which the people of Jesus bear to him and especially the prayer which characterizes them; the gathering of all peoples in the eschatological achievement of God.

But along with the identification of constants there is also the discovery of questions: Is one to give priority to God's eschatological action in season and out of season or by the witness — perhaps even silent witness — of living? Is liberation purely spiritual or is it to be embodied in specific, concrete details touching this life? Should one engage in words of judgment or words of reconciliation? For these and other questions one can only remain

open to God's call which invites us to avoid rigidity in confronting his world. A special question is the role of Israel according to the flesh. What is the place of the Jews in God's call to Mission?

In order to respond to the deep lines of force underlying a biblical view of reality one needs an attitude of constant readiness for a deepening conversion. Conversion to God, conversion to the Word of the Gospel, conversion to the Spirit, conversion to the Church, conversion to hope. Other types of conversion may also be needed to correspond to true Mission.

This brief summary does not do justice, of course, to the richness of Legrand's presentation. But it does give the sense of constructive confrontation which the book is bound to elicit in anyone who shares the faith convictions of its author. It is not the kind of book which a non-believer could reasonably be expected to write. The author's faith has clearly given him a privileged point of view into the whole of Scriptures. The book is a good argument for showing the inadequacies of a purely "scientific" or purely "literary" approach to the Bible, valuable in their own limited ways as these approaches are.

As was mentioned above, "transparence" with regard to the Gospel is essential: "Avant toute chose, comme ce le fut pour Jésus, l'essentiel est donc *la transparence à l'Évangile et l'authenticité du témoignage*" (p. 117). This is a statement which no one would object to who is convinced that authority has to be commended if it is to be exercised effectively in the world of today. And here, perhaps, lies a major weakness of Legrand's book: he does not really face the question of how the legal authority with which Jesus speaks and which he has imparted to his Church is to be represented by those engaged in Mission. The "Gospel" is an account of how two broad currents arose from the one Jesus to sweep through history: the legal authority given the apostles and their successors (symbolized by Peter and the keys) and the moral authority which comes from heroism in meeting the demands of Christian living (symbolized by Paul and the sword of the Spirit — curiously, Legrand seems to regard the sword often seen in Paul's hand as the sword with which he was martyred [cf. p. 144]). Legrand's presentation seems heavily weighted in favor of the latter. This is understandable, for to present the legal claims of Christianity to a right to be heard as God's people speaking with God's authorization is a bold claim indeed — especially for one who confronts the majestic cultures of the Indian subcontinent. And yet the problem was not unknown to the New Testament: Paul was certainly aware of it (cf. 2 Cor 4,1-2). Any solution has to come through the interplay of the charismatic with the legal, but it would seem that the latter should not be downplayed if "transparence" is to be maintained to the Gospel in its fullness.

Perhaps not quite as explicit or as emphasized in the book as it should be is the real secret of Christianity: Jesus Christ and his presence through his Spirit. In the end even an astute balance between legal and moral authority does not do justice to the riches of the Gospel unless they serve as guides to their Source. It is Jesus Christ grasped by faith, viewed in hope, and mirrored in love who is the self-validating ground of Christian Mission. If any strategy of Mission is to rise definitively above the arena of ideology it must

be grounded on an all-pervasive awareness of the founder of Christianity and what he means for human existence. It is the merit of Legrand's book to have pointed the way to this truth, even if imperfectly.

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